THE COINAGES OF DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES

EDWARD T. NEWELL

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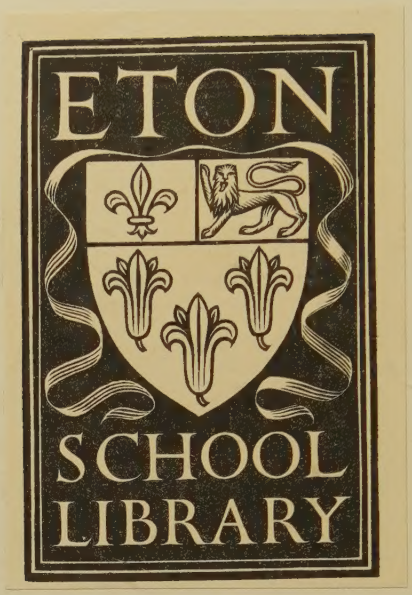

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BY
EDWARD T. NEWELL

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TO

ADRA M. NEWELL

THIS LITTLE WORK IS
AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED

PREFACE

AMONG the many great leaders who fill the stage during the first years of the Hellenistic Age none stands out more prominently than Demetrius, best known under the popular nickname of Poliorcetes—the Besieger. His is by far the most striking figure of them all and second only to the great Alexander in absorbing human interest. A man of unusual ability, endowed with unbounded energy, handsome, brilliant, versatile, he dominates the history of his times. More like some shining Knight of the Round Table in the pages of Mallory than a figure of Classical Antiquity, he counted his conquests far and wide on the stricken field of battle, on the unstable waves of the Mediterranean Sea, and last but not least in the more pleasant pastures of dalliance and love.

Demetrius was undoubtedly a man of brilliant parts and possessed of more varied abilities than any one of his immediate contemporaries, yet he fell short in just those virtues or personal qualities by means of which the other satrap-kings were enabled to establish, with a greater or less success, their several kingdoms. Less ruthless than Cassander, less astute and less of a financier than Lysimachus, less politically sagacious than Ptolemy, less of an empire builder than Seleucus, less stable than his own father, Demetrius, none the less, possessed many virtues quite his own. First and foremost he was endowed with a magnetic personality which won him the hearts of men—and, it may as well be said, of many a lady too. Combined with this was a reckless, gallant, debonair spirit which made him the *beau sabreur* of his times and an ideal leader of men. Eminently successful where boldness, suddenness and dash meant everything, he was frequently unsuccessful when pitted against some proved or able general well aware of Demetrius'

abilities and failings. He showed himself both reckless, yet resourceful, now careless of time and apparently lost in the pleasures of the flesh, the next moment, when danger called, filled with the most astounding energy and able to undergo every fatigue and privation. It is, indeed, little wonder that his career should have been marked by a series of the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. One moment seemingly at the very end of his resources, the next, through sheer ability or some unexpected turn of fortune's wheel, once more the master of a kingdom, soon, however, to lose his foothold, plunging down—yet only to rise again to still greater heights. In time he came to trust implicitly in the infallibility of his star, to accept with complaisance the divine honours paid him by various peoples, to demand the subservience, the pomp and circumstance due only to eastern potentates. This, together with his interminable campaigns necessitating immense levies of men and money, alienated his subjects' affections, while his insatiable ambitions roused the fears of his rivals and so brought about their final coalition against him. Demetrius was both the wonder and the despair of his times and to this day commands the admiration and interest of the historian.

To the numismatist the necessarily varied coinages of Demetrius the Besieger present many points of absorbing interest. Their great complexity, however, has rather discouraged the student and, so far as the present writer is aware, no special study of any pretention to completeness has been devoted to his issues. Eckhel in his *Doctrina Numorum*, Lenormant in his *Numismatique des rois Grecs* (vol. i, Recueil général de Numismatique et de Glyptique), and Head in his *Historia Numorum* have done the most towards the advancement of knowledge on our subject. Their respective works, however, make no pretence at being anything but general, the material at their disposal was exceedingly limited, and the results obtained

are consequently of rather narrow scope and vague outline. More advanced from the standpoint of modern numismatic science is the special study devoted to the coinage of Demetrius by Mr. Charles T. Seltman. This work[1], however, as its title proclaims, is only a synopsis. It nevertheless records an advance, although some of the conclusions arrived at must be accepted with great care, as they are based on assumptions which, at best, cannot be proved.

The present writer, therefore, enters upon a subject which others have treated superficially or have shunned entirely, with considerable diffidence. But a serious commencement must be made if we would ever hope to advance, and this is perhaps the main excuse for the present work. On the other hand, the writer has been especially favoured through his long continued studies in the field of the Alexandrine coinages. These have somewhat prepared the way and have placed at his disposal an aid which his predecessors[2] have lacked. Even so, he is only too well aware of how many points still remain very obscure and upon how uncertain a foundation some of his attributions for the moment rest. For this reason the writer asks the indulgence of the reader and student the while he says, as Aeneas did of old, *incipiam.*

[1] *A Synopsis of the Coins of Antigonus I and Demetrius Poliorcetes*, Num. Chron., 1909.

[2] Mention should also be made of a study by the elder Mr. Seltman, entitled *Rare Gold Staters with Types of Alexander III* (Num. Zeitschr., vol. vi, 1913), in which he attempts to connect certain gold staters of the Alexander type with the reign of Demetrius. Mr. Seltman, however, like so many other students of this knotty problem, has been misled by that *ignis fatuus* the transliteration of monograms into ruler's or mint names. In practically every case his attributions are demonstrably erroneous, or, at best, exceedingly questionable.

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I

SOURCES OF THE MATERIAL

The first and absolutely indispensable requisite for the work in hand was the gathering together of all possible and available material in the shape of coins, casts, and photographs. To his own numismatic collection the writer has been able to add casts of Demetrius' coins from practically every important collection in Europe and America. Had it not been for the generous co-operation of the various museum directors, as well as the owners of private collections, the present work would have been impossible of accomplishment. The writer, therefore, cannot express his thanks and appreciation too warmly for the apparently ever-ready assistance offered by these gentlemen.

In addition to the public and private collections drawn upon for casts, the writer has also made use of catalogues of public sales having photographic reproductions of such coins of Demetrius as they may chance to contain. It is possible that a few catalogues of minor sales have been overlooked because they were not at the moment available. Such sales catalogues as give only descriptions, but no reproductions by the usual photographic processes, have been dispensed with. For our purposes they are practically useless.

The following tables will serve to show, at a glance, the sources whence the material used in the present work has been drawn.

I. PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

Country.	*City.*	*Name of Museum.*
Austria	Vienna	Kunsthistorisches Museum.
Belgium	Brussels	Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique.
Denmark	Copenhagen	Kongl. Mont- og Medaille-Samling.
France	Lyons	Musée Municipal.
„	Marseilles	Bibliothèque Communale.
„	Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale.

Country.	*City.*	*Name of Museum.*
Germany	Berlin	Kaiser-Friedrichs-Museum.
,,	Brunswick	Herzogliches Museum.
,,	Dresden	Sächsisches Münzkabinett.
,,	Munich	Bayerisches Münzkabinett.
,,	Gotha	Gothaer Münzkabinett.
Great Britain	Cambridge	Fitzwilliam Museum, containing the Leake, Fitzwilliam, and McClean Collections.
,, ,,	,,	Lewis Collection in Corpus Christi College.
,, ,,	Glasgow	Hunterian Museum.
,, ,,	London	British Museum.
,, ,,	Oxford	Ashmolean Museum.
Greece	Athens	National Collection.
Italy	Florence	Museo Archeologico.
,,	Milan	Medagliere Milanese.
,,	Naples	Museo Nazionale.
,,	Rome	Museo Nazionale delle Terme Diocleziane.
,,	,,	Vatican Collection.
,,	Turin	Museo Archeologico.
,,	,,	Royal Collection.
Netherlands	The Hague	Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten.
Russia	Leningrad	The Hermitage.
Turkey	Constantinople	Imperial Ottoman Museum.
United States	Boston	Museum of Fine Arts.
,, ,,	New York	American Numismatic Society.
,, ,,	,,	Metropolitan Museum of Art.
,, ,,	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania Museum.
,, ,,	Washington	National Museum.

II. PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Name.	*City.*	*Country.*
Grand Duke Alexander Michailovitch	Paris	France.
Mr. George J. Bauer	Rochester, N.Y.	U.S.A.
Mr. W. Gedney Beatty	New York, N.Y.	U.S.A.
†Mr. Clarence S. Bement	Philadelphia, Pa.	U.S.A.
Mr. S. Hudson Chapman	Philadelphia, Pa.	U.S.A.
Mr. Henry R. Drowne	New York, N.Y.	U.S.A.

Name.	*City.*	*Country.*
Mr. G. Empedocles	Athens	Greece.
Dr. Walther Giesecke	Leipzig	Germany.
Mr. George A. Gilette	Rochester, N.Y.	U.S.A.
Mr. Henry A. Greene	Providence, R.I.	U.S.A.
Hauptmann Karl Hollschek	Vienna	Austria.
M. Robert Jameson	Paris	France.
M. Kaftanzoglou	Athens	Greece.
Dr. Philip Lederer	Berlin	Germany.
Mr. G. Locker-Lampson	London	England.
Mrs. E. T. Newell	New York, N.Y.	U.S.A.
Mr. S. P. Noe	New York, N.Y.	U.S.A.
Sir Charles Oman	Oxford	England.
Dr. N. A. Petsalis	Athens	Greece.
Dr. Théodore Reinach	Paris	France.
M. Seymour de Ricci	Paris	France.
Mr. E. S. G. Robinson	London	England.
Dr. E. P. Robinson	Newport, R.I.	U.S.A.
†M. Pierre Saroglou	Athens	Greece.
†Vicomte de Sartiges	Paris	France.
†Sir Herman Weber	London	England.
Herr Julius Wertheim	Berlin	Germany.
†M. B. Yakountchikoff	Leningrad	Russia.

III. CATALOGUES OF PUBLIC SALES

Auctioneer.	*Owner or Sale's Number.*	*City.*	*Date.*
Étienne Bourgey	Dr. Rousset	Paris	Apr. 1908.
„ „	J. Bougerol	„	June 1909.
„ „	Coll. H.M.	„	Dec. 1909.
„ „	Jules Norman	„	Apr. 1910.
„ „	'Monnaies Antiques'	„	May 1910.
„ „	Coll. Rous	„	May 1911.
A. Cahn	L. Walcher de Molthein	Frankfurt	Feb. 1901.
Canessa	Nervegna	Rome	Nov. 1907.
S. H. and H. Chapman	King	Philadelphia	Apr. 1892.
„ „ „	Chaloner	„	Apr. 1895.
Henry Chapman	Earle	„	June 1912.
„ „	Jenks	„	Dec. 1921.
Ciani	Col. Allotte de la Füye	Paris	Feb. 1925.

Auctioneer.	*Owner or Sale's Number.*	*City.*	*Date.*
Brüder Egger	XXXIX = Vienna Duplicates	Vienna	Jan. 1912.
„ „	XL = Prowe	„	May 1912.
„ „	XLI = Fenerly Bey	„	Nov. 1912.
Feuardent	Collignon	Paris	Dec. 1919.
„	Engel-Gros	„	Dec. 1921.
„	D. et G.	„	June 1924.
Helbing	Zietsche und Köder	Munich	Apr. 1913.
Hess	Berlin Duplicates	Frankfurt	Mar. 1906.
„	„ „	„	Mar. 1912.
Dr. Jacob Hirsch	XIII = Rhousopoulos	Munich	May 1905.
„	XIX = 'Auswärtigen Gelehrten'	„	Nov. 1907.
„	XX = Hoskier	„	Nov. 1907.
„	XXI = Consul Weber	„	Nov. 1908.
„	XXV = Dr. Gustav Philipsen	„	Nov. 1909.
„	XXVI = Berlin Duplicates, &c.	„	May 1910.
„	XXIX = Lambros	„	Nov. 1910.
„	XXX = Percy Barron	„	May 1911.
„	XXXI = H. G. Gutekunst, &c.	„	May 1912.
„	XXXII = 'Altem Besitz'	„	Nov. 1912.
„	XXXIII = Baron F. von Schennis, &c.	„	Nov. 1913.
„	XXXIV = R. Garrucci	„	May 1914.
Merzbacher	'Münchener Künstlers'	„	Nov. 1909.
„	'Französischen Amateurs'	„	Nov. 1910.
Naville	I = Dr. Pozzi	Lucerne	Apr. 1921.
„	IV = Sir Arthur Evans, &c.	„	June 1922.
„	V = British Museum Duplicates, &c.	„	June 1923.
„	VI = C. S. Bement	„	Jan. 1924.
„	X = Petrowicz, &c.	„	June 1925.
Platt	Luneau	Paris	Mar. 1922.
Ratto	Numismatico Straniero	Milan	Apr. 1909.
„	Distinto Numismatico Straniero	„	May 1912.

Auctioneer.	*Owner or Sale's Number.*	*City.*	*Date.*
Ratto	Priced Sale Catalogue no. 8	Lugano	Dec. 1922.
Rollin et Feuardent	Billoin	Paris	Mar. 1886.
,, ,,	Hoffman	,,	May 1898.
,, ,,	Charret	,,	Apr. 1903.
,, ,,	Duruflé	,,	May 1910.
Sally Rosenberg	Helferich-Eisenach	Frankfurt	Mar. 1914.
Santamaria	Dr. Paul Hartwig	Rome	Mar. 1910.
Schulman	Dr. M. A. Kreling	Amsterdam	Nov. 1913.
,,	V. Belle	,,	Nov. 1913.
Serrure	Monnaies Grecques, &c.	Paris	Nov. 1911.
Sotheby	H. A. Greene	London	Apr. 1895.
,,	Montagu I	,,	Mar. 1896.
,,	Bunbury	,,	June 1896.
,,	Montagu II	,,	Mar. 1897.
,,	Late Collector	,,	May 1900.
,,	Tobin Bush	,,	Nov. 1902.
,,	Delbeke	,,	Apr. 1907.
,,	O'Hagan I	,,	May 1908.
,,	Benson	,,	Feb. 1909.
,,	Well-known Cabinet	,,	Apr. 1909.
,,	American Artist	,,	July 1910.
,,	Sandeman	,,	June 1911.
,,	Butler	,,	July 1911.
,,	Cumberland-Clark	,,	Jan. 1914.
,,	Schlesinger y Guzman	,,	July 1914.
,,	Headlam	,,	May 1916.
,,	O'Hagan II	,,	June 1924.
,,	Property of an Amateur	,,	Dec. 1924.
,,	Bruun	,,	May 1925.

The writer expressly desires to thank the following gentlemen for their kindness and the great trouble they have taken to assist him: Mr. Bicknell, Dr. Caskey, Dr. Giesecke, Mr. Grose, Dr. Hill, Capt. Hollschek, M. Jameson, Dr. Lederer, Dr. Münsterberg, Dr. Macdonald, Sir Charles Oman, Dr. Pick, Dr. Regling, Dr. Théodore Reinach, Mr. Robinson, Dr. Sponsel, M. Tourneur, M. van Kerkwijk and Herr Wertheim. The writer is indeed under deep obligation to them all.

In handling the numismatic material at our disposal the following system has been adopted. Each variety of the many coins struck by Demetrius Poliorcetes has been given a separate number, resulting in a total of 182 distinct varieties. Under each variety of the stater and the tetradrachm the various known dies are tabulated. For the staters every obverse die is designated by a capital letter (e. g. A, B, &c.), every reverse die by a lower-case letter in italics (e. g. *a*, *b*, &c.). In the case of the tetradrachms every obverse die has been given a number in roman numerals (e. g. I, II, &c.), every reverse die an arabic numeral in italics (e. g. *1*, *2*, &c.). Being of lesser importance for our studies the dies of the drachms, hemidrachms, and bronze coins have not been distinguished. Each specimen catalogued, however, has been given a Greek letter (e. g. α, β, &c.).

Die positions, wherever known, are indicated by the now widely used system of arrows to designate existing relationship of the reverse to the obverse die. In cases where the coins of an entire issue are obviously struck from loose dies, merely a statement to this effect is made. This will tend to relieve somewhat the already too great complexity of the catalogue.

Well-known public collections are indicated by their city, thus 'London' will denote the British Museum, 'Paris' the Bibliothèque Nationale, &c. Private collections will naturally be indicated by the names of their owners.

Throughout the catalogue of coins struck by Demetrius it will be remarked that many specimens of the ordinary Alexander type have been included. In most cases they bear neither the name nor any special distinguishing mark to designate Demetrius as their issuer. They do, however, bear monograms or symbols identical with those found on coins whose types or inscriptions show them to have been actually struck for Demetrius. Obviously, then, these two categories of coins were more or less contemporaneous, the one with the other, and this assumption is further borne out by their unity of style and fabric. The writer at first hesitated to include such coins as are purely Alexandrine in type and inscription, as they will of necessity have to be included later in any comprehensive study of the so-called Alexander coinage. On the other hand, all told, there appear to be but a score of varieties which are thus intimately associated with the

ordinary issues of Demetrius Poliorcetes. This small number would hardly be sufficient to cause any serious confusion in a future work devoted to the Alexander coinage, while, on the other hand, the elimination of these coins from the present work would result in a distinct loss. Their absence from a series of which they form an integral portion would tend to place that particular series in a false perspective, and its original scope and importance would thus be entirely lost to us.

In handling Demetrius' widely scattered coinages it has seemed advisable to follow a geographical rather than a chronological scheme. His life was such a varied one; he reigned in so many different portions of the Greek world at different times that his coinages fall more naturally into geographic groups. If we were to treat the coinage from a purely chronological standpoint (as has usually been done) the result would be somewhat confusing, as it would often be necessary to place the issues of a single mint in separate categories. Treated geographically, however, the coins of one mint or district are thereby all grouped together and, in themselves, usually form a chronological unit. The geographic arrangement has the further advantage that it can, in a general way, be made to conform, sufficiently clearly for our purposes, with the larger chronological aspects of Demetrius' stirring reign. We will commence, therefore, with Cyprus, where was situated the mint over which Demetrius exercised sole jurisdiction for the first time in his life, and whence he issued his earliest coinages. Thence we proceed to Phoenicia, Cilicia, and western Asia Minor, the issues of whose mints must be assigned to the earlier portions of his reign. Finally, we take up the coinages struck for Demetrius in his dominions of old Hellas, including Macedonia, and end with the various small series whose attribution is as yet quite uncertain.

II

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF DEMETRIUS' LIFE

For the convenience of the reader the following brief chronological outline of Demetrius' life has been included. It will be noted that prior to 301 B.C. only the salient events are given; after his accession to Antigonus' empire the outline is given in greater detail because of its direct bearing upon his coinages.

B. C.	
336	Birth of Demetrius, his parents being Antigonus and Stratonice.
321–320	Marries Phila, daughter of Antipater.
317	Holds his first command at the battle in Paraetacene against Eumenes.
313	Appointed by his father as Strategos over Syria and Phoenicia.
312	Defeated by Ptolemy I of Egypt at the battle of Gaza.
311	Leads a raiding expedition against Babylon, captures and plunders the city, whereupon he falls back, once more, upon Syria.
310	Demetrius recovers Cilicia from Ptolemy.
309	Saves Halicarnassus.
307	Demetrius, at the head of a large expedition, frees Athens and Megara from Cassander whose forces also evacuate Chalcis. Out of gratitude the Athenians, among other honours, hail Antigonus and Demetrius as the 'Saviour Gods' and decree altars for their worship.
306	Demetrius is recalled from Greece by his father and leads an expedition against Cyprus. While besieging Salamis he defeats Ptolemy in a great naval engagement off the coast. The city surrenders and Demetrius secures possession of the entire island. He receives the title of 'king' from Antigonus.

306–305 Unsuccessful attack upon Egypt.

305–304 Siege of Rhodes.

304 Demetrius raises the siege of Rhodes, returns to Greece where Cassander had once more regained his power. Demetrius is successful in driving Cassander's forces out of Attica, Euboea, and all of central Greece. He spends the ensuing winter at Athens.

303 Demetrius invades the Peloponnesus, seizes Sicyon which he refounds and renames Demetrias. He frees Corinth but places a garrison on the Acropolis. Achaea, Argos, and Arcadia, including Mantineia, are also freed. He marries Deidameia, sister of Pyrrhus. He convokes the Hellenic Congress at the Isthmus and is made commander-in-chief of the allied Hellenic states.

302 In April Demetrius is admitted into the Eleusinian Mysteries. He then carries on a successful war against Cassander in Thessaly and secures Pherae. But Cassander's ally Lysimachus is successful in Asia Minor where he captures Teos, Colophon, Ephesus, and other cities. Demetrius, recalled from Greece by Antigonus, sails for Asia and is able to recapture Ephesus.

301 Seleucus arrives with his army from India and effects a junction with his allies Lysimachus and Pleistarchus. There follows the great battle between the allies and Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia. Complete defeat of Antigonus and his death.

301–300 Demetrius, escaped from Ipsus, first makes certain of his hold upon Ephesus. Thence he proceeds to Athens, which city, however, closes her gates against him. In Greece he still retains a hold upon Megara, Corinth, and Argos. He leaves Hellas and sails for the Thracian Chersonese where his naval forces were being assembled. He carries on operations against Lysimachus.

299–298 Seleucus proposes an alliance with Demetrius. The latter accepts and sails for Syria. *En route* he stops long enough off the coast of Cilicia (since Ipsus in the possession of Pleistarchus, brother of Cassander) to land an expedition which captures the treasure stored at Kyinda. Thence he proceeds to Rhossus in Syria where the alliance with Seleucus is celebrated and ratified by the marriage to the latter of Demetrius' daughter Stratonice. Then Demetrius, probably in accordance with an understanding arrived at with Seleucus, takes over Cilicia after driving out Pleistarchus.

B. C.
297 Lachares becomes tyrant in Athens. Death of Cassander whose kingdom falls to his eldest son Philip. Four months later Philip dies and the kingdom is divided between his two brothers Antipater and Alexander. Demetrius at this period seems to have been carrying on a war against Ptolemy in Coele-Syria. He captures Samaria. Peace is arranged between Ptolemy and Demetrius. Seleucus offers to purchase Tyre and Sidon from Demetrius, but his offer is rejected.

296 Demetrius returns to Greece, his objective being Athens. Off the coast of Attica, however, he loses a large portion of his fleet in a storm. An attack upon Athens is easily repulsed. Until a new fleet and fresh forces can be assembled Demetrius proceeds to the Peloponnesus and lays siege to Messene. He is wounded and apparently raises the siege.

295 Having recaptured some of the other revolted cities in the Peloponnesus Demetrius returns to the attack upon Athens. Salamis, Aegina, Eleusis, and Rhamnus are seized. Athens and the Piraeus are closely invested on all sides.

294 In March Athens surrenders; Lachares escapes to Boeotia. Demetrius secures the city with a strong garrison and returns to the Peloponnesus where he engages in a war against Sparta. He defeats king Archidamus in battle and is about to attack the city itself when he learns of the successes of Lysimachus and Ptolemy. The former had been able to capture practically the entire coast of western Asia Minor, including Ephesus; the latter had recaptured Cyprus and was laying siege to its capital Salamis. Probably about this same time Seleucus also seized Cilicia. Demetrius is on the point of sailing for Asia to retrieve his fortunes there when he learns that Alexander, third son of Cassander, desires his assistance against his own brother Antipater. Demetrius welcomes this unexpected opportunity and hastens north to Macedonia. In the meanwhile Pyrrhus had been able to aid Alexander and the latter now regretted his appeal to Demetrius. He received Demetrius, explained that he no longer required his assistance and escorted him back to Larissa in Thessaly. There Demetrius learns of a plot against his life and causes Alexander to be assassinated. According to some authorities this event took place very late in the year 294 B. C., according to others very early in the year 293 B. C.

B.C. Demetrius is hailed king by the Macedonians and proceeds to secure all Macedonia.

293 Demetrius now secures Thessaly as well, and it is probably at this time that he founds Demetrias, the great fortress and seaport on the Gulf of Pagassae. He invades Boeotia. Thebes surrenders. Not long afterwards, at the instigation of Cleonymus of Sparta, Thebes revolts. Demetrius appears before the city and drives off Cleonymus. Thebes again surrenders. A strong garrison is placed in the Cadmeia and the city loses her autonomy.

292 In the early spring, while Lysimachus is engaged in operations against Dromychites, the Thracian king, Demetrius takes the opportunity to invade his dominions. At this juncture, Thebes revolts. Demetrius hastens back from Thrace and lays siege to the city. Pyrrhus attempts a diversion in Thessaly but is driven off. The siege of Thebes continues throughout the remainder of the year.

291 Thebes falls in the summer or autumn.

290 Expedition by Demetrius westwards. He secures Corcyra and probably Leucas. The Pythian games are celebrated at Athens because Demetrius and his allies are shut off from Delphi by the hostile Aetolians.

289 Demetrius advances against the Aetolians and defeats their army. He invades Epirus which he proceeds to lay waste. In the meanwhile Pyrrhus, having missed Demetrius, encounters the army of the latter's general Pantauchus and wins a brilliant victory. Demetrius is forced to retire from Epirus and eventually, in the late autumn, makes peace with Pyrrhus. Demetrius commences huge preparations for the prosecution of a war against his enemies.

288 Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy form a new alliance against Demetrius. Pyrrhus is persuaded to join the federation. The allies commence operations before Demetrius had completed his preparations. An Egyptian fleet appears in Hellenic waters, Lysimachus invades from the east, Pyrrhus does the same from the west. The Macedonians, grown tired of Demetrius and his endless wars, commence to desert in large numbers to the enemy. Demetrius' power suddenly collapses (autumn of 288). He escapes to Cassandreia and thence to Greece. Macedonia is divided between

B. C. Lysimachus and Pyrrhus. In the meanwhile Athens had revolted and overcome Demetrius' garrison.

287 Demetrius spends the winter of 288–287 B. C. in moving about Greece rallying his friends and assembling his forces. To secure her allegiance to his cause he grants autonomy to Thebes. In the late spring he appears before the walls of Athens. She calls upon Pyrrhus for aid. A peace is patched up between Athens and Demetrius, followed, not long afterward, by peace between the latter and Pyrrhus. Having left his son Antigonus in charge of the possessions still remaining to him in Greece, Demetrius sets sail with his fleet and a force of some eleven thousand mercenaries for Asia Minor. He lands in Miletus where he marries Ptolemais, the daughter of Eurydice, the divorced wife of Ptolemy Soter. Apparently the winter is spent in Caria.

286 With the spring Demetrius moves northwards to attack the possessions of Lysimachus. At first he is successful and secures several cities, among them Sardis. Soon, however, Agathocles the son of Lysimachus appears with a powerful army and drives off Demetrius. The latter now attempts an invasion of Phrygia but fails because of lack of supplies. An epidemic breaks out in his army and causes heavy losses. Demetrius retreats into Cilicia. Agathocles seizes the passes of the Taurus mountains behind him. Seleucus with an army advances into Cilicia to drive out Demetrius. The remainder of the year is filled with skirmishes, battles, marches, and countermarches, but Seleucus finds himself unable to overcome Demetrius completely.

285 In the spring Demetrius, with the remnants of his army, suddenly crosses the Amanus mountains and invades northern Syria. Seleucus meets him. In the ensuing battle the greater portion of Demetrius' army deserts him. He makes his escape but later, finding himself surrounded, is persuaded by his few remaining followers to surrender. Seleucus places him in honourable captivity near Apameia in Syria where he spends the remainder of his life.

283–282 Death of Demetrius.

The foregoing chronological outline of Demetrius' life, as well as the running historical comments throughout the present work, are based largely upon Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Niese's *Geschichte der griechi-*

schen und makedonischen Staaten, Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, Kaerst's *Demetrios* in Pauly-Wissowa, pp. 2769–92, Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens*, and Tarn's *Antigonos Gonatas*. The views of Tarn concerning the somewhat controversial datings of events for the years 288–286 B. C. have been followed in preference to those of some of the other students of this complicated period. Only in cases where some special viewpoint is followed is a reference given to the author responsible for it, as it would be both wearisome and impracticable to note in the text each time that one of the above-mentioned works has been drawn upon.

III

CYPRUS

Mint: Salamis

At the outset it will no doubt be generally conceded that our intended investigation of the coinages of Demetrius, surnamed the 'Besieger', need not commence, at the very earliest, previous to the eventful summer of 306 B. C. Although the young Demetrius had for a number of years played a conspicuous role among his contemporaries and had long been his father's right-hand man and his most trusted general, still he certainly had not as yet been in a position to strike money in his own name and bearing his own types. In the capacity of commander-in-the-field—and Demetrius had now on several occasions actually enjoyed such a responsible position, first in 312–311 B. C. as commander-in-chief of the army in Phoenicia, next in 311 as commander of the expedition against Babylon, later in 307 as commander of the fleet in Hellenic waters—he no doubt, in cases of necessity, possessed the right of coinage. But if at any time he had ever exercised this prerogative, it is as certain as it is obvious that the coinage he issued must have conformed in types and name with that struck throughout the remaining portions of his father's wide empire. This coinage bore only the designs and inscriptions introduced long ago by the great Alexander. At no time, even after his public assumption of the title of king, did old Antigonus strike money in his own name and bearing his own types.[1] Nor did the example

[1] Coins of the Alexander type but bearing the inscription ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ have been erroneously assigned to Antigonus King of Asia. The tetradrachm first appearing in the Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 1157 (Hirsch, xiii, 1905), and later published by C. T. Seltman in *Num. Chron.*, vol. ix, 1909, is merely an ordinary Alexander tetradrachm with the name ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ re-engraved in *modern* times over the original ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The other coins, such as staters similar to no. 5, Plate XX, of C. T. Seltman's article in the *Chronicle*, and tetradrachms similar to no. 12, Plate XXXI, in Head's *Coins of the Ancients*,

set by his rivals, who after 305 B. C. commenced to place their own names upon their coinages and even to adopt new and more personal types, influence him in the slightest. He rigidly adhered to his old policy and allowed only coins of the pure Alexander type to be issued in his dominions. As Six has already pointed out [2] Antigonus claimed to be the real successor of Alexander. As such, after the death of Alexander Aegus, he probably made a point of keeping the royal coinage of his predecessor as unchanged as possible. It is practically certain, therefore, that Demetrius prior to 306–305 B. C. would only have employed the Alexander type for any coinage he might have issued with which to pay his troops. The question is, did the events of the year 306 B. C. bring about any change in Demetrius' position and with this the adoption of a new policy with regard to any coinage he himself might thereafter have issued ?

As this point is of considerable interest it will be well to look a little more closely into the historical events of the period. The campaigning season of 307 B. C. was opened by Antigonus with the dispatch to Greece of his powerful fleet under Demetrius, in the avowed intention of freeing the Greek cities from the yokes of Cassander and of Ptolemy. Demetrius was completely successful in liberating Athens and Megara, but found himself unable to oust the Ptolemaic forces from their strongholds in the Peloponnesus. In the spring of 306, therefore, Antigonus recalled his son in order to commence operations against some of Ptolemy's other possessions, the while he himself, with his splendid and well-tried army, took up a strategic position in upper Syria. He was also, at this very time, actively engaged in building there the new capital of his empire, Antigoneia on the Orontes.

Passing by way of Caria, Demetrius arrived in Cilicia where he paused to recruit his forces anew for the serious enterprise which lay ahead. This was to be nothing less than a bold attempt to seize the island of Cyprus—ever since 320 B. C. one of Ptolemy's most prized

are unquestionably issues of Antigonus Gonatas. In fabric they are typically Macedonian, and over this district Antigonus, the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, never ruled. Their comparatively late style, their monograms, and their symbols occur on the contemporaneous Macedonian issues of Gonatas.

[2] *Annuaire de Numismatique*, vol. vi, 1882, p. 37.

and carefully guarded possessions. For that island occupied a remarkably strategic position dominating the eastern Mediterranean, as well as the coasts of Cilicia, Syria, and Phoenicia. It absolutely commanded the water trade-routes into Asia and thus formed an invaluable naval station for the powerful Egyptian fleet. Here Ptolemy was accustomed to recruit his navy from among the island's sea-faring population, and hence he drew such things as building material, masts, tar, copper—such things, in other words, as Egypt herself could not well supply. With sixty warships and a suitable army Ptolemy's own brother Menelaus, as regent, held Cyprus firmly for Egypt.

Nothing daunted, Demetrius led his forces, consisting of 15,000 foot, 400 riders, 110 warships, and many transports, across the waters from Cilicia, and landed near Carpasia in the north-eastern corner of the island. He soon captured both Carpasia and the neighbouring Ceryneia. Crossing the intervening mountains he met Menelaus advancing with an army from Salamis, at that time the island's capital and the station of the Ptolemaic fleet. Menelaus was defeated in a pitched battle and hastily retreated behind the walls of Salamis. There now commenced a siege, fiercely prosecuted, and no less honourable to the besiegers than to the besieged. Here young Demetrius first won his spurs in that particular form of warfare which was later to give him his special sobriquet of the 'Besieger'.

In spite of a most obstinate and well-conducted defence, matters soon began to take on a serious aspect for Menelaus and the devoted garrison. A call for help was dispatched to Ptolemy, who made haste—for the fate of one of the principal bulwarks of his kingdom hung in the balance. With a mighty fleet he arrived at Paphos, secured more assistance there and at Citium, and sailed thence to meet Demetrius. In the meanwhile, the latter had drawn up his own fleet off the city of Salamis. On the approach of Ptolemy, he left ten powerful vessels to blockade the sixty ships of Menelaus in the port and with the remainder attacked the Egyptian fleet. A terrific battle ensued, somewhat rhetorically, though well, described by Diodorus. Eventually Demetrius, by superior generalship and the higher fighting qualities of his men and ships, won a crushing victory. Ptolemy himself managed to escape, but with only eight vessels. All

the remainder, including his transports and an army of 8,000 men, were sunk, or fell into the hands of Demetrius. The latter apparently lost but twenty ships all told.

The effect of this battle was instantaneous. Menelaus surrendered the island, his ships, and his army of over 16,000 men. And more than this, the command of the sea now fell without question to Antigonus and Demetrius. It was many a long year before any one even attempted to challenge it again. Small wonder then that after such a brilliant feat of arms, even then bidding fair to have far-reaching consequences, the delighted old Antigonus, himself assuming the coveted title of Βασιλεύς, should also have conferred it upon his beloved son. Henceforth Antigonus, in name as well as in fact, was king of the wide empire which he had carved out for himself. By his side stood Demetrius, now also adorned with the diadem and bearing the title of Βασιλεύς, co-ruler with his father over the latter's wide dominions—but in particular his high-admiral and warden of the seas. To him, as such, Cyprus became of the utmost importance. It constituted one of his principal arsenals and dockyards whence, in times of necessity, he drew[3] men, ships, and supplies. Money, too, was doubtless needed and this Cyprus was also well able to supply from its principal mint in Salamis.

To gain a clearer appreciation of Demetrius' own coinages in Cyprus a very brief review of the immediately preceding issues would perhaps be desirable.[4] Only the issues for the then capital of the island, Salamis, need be taken into consideration as the remaining mints seem not to have functioned under Demetrius, having probably been closed down by Ptolemy before the latter's arrival. The first issue (Series I, *circa* 332–320 B. C.)[5] was commenced soon after the submission of the island princes to Alexander the Great. At this time was struck a prolific series, consisting principally of gold staters and silver tetradrachms of Attic weight and bearing

[3] For instance, armour was supplied to him from Cyprus during the siege of Rhodes (see Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xxi. 3), and ships after the loss of the greater portion of his fleet before Athens in 296–5 B. C.

[4] For all details regarding these earlier Cypriote coinages the reader is referred to the writer's *Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'* in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1915, pp. 294–322.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 306 ff., nos. 1–10.

Alexandrine types. This series is characterized by the symbol Bow. It continued to appear until about 320 B.C. when a second issue (Series II, *circa* 320–317 B.C.)[6] was inaugurated. The coins now bore the name of Philip Arrhidaeus and, in the field, a RUDDER as symbol. With the death of Philip his name was replaced by that of Alexander IV. The RUDDER continued, however, as the symbol, but the new issue (Series III, *circa* 316–306 B.C.)[7] was marked by the addition of various magistrates' monograms. These continue to appear in groups of two throughout the remainder of the issue. Among them should be particularly noted ⚸ and ΓΕ, both of which reappear later under Demetrius. The great number of varieties known would seem to prove that this series continued right away down to the coming of Demetrius. To them should now be added the following two types, unknown to the writer when he published his study of the Cypriote 'Alexanders'.

Additions to Series III. *Circa* 316–306 B.C.

30. TETRADRACHM.

Obv.—Head of youthful Heracles r. (very similar in style to that found on nos. 17, 19, 22, 26, and 27).

Rev.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Seated Zeus to l. as on previous tetradrachms. In field, RUDDER and Ⓐ. Beneath throne, ΓΕ.

Glasgow, *Hunterian Museum Cat.*, vol. i, p. 305, no. 88, **Plate I, 1.**

31. STATER.

Obv.—Head of Athena r. in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with coiled serpent.

Rev.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged Nike holding wreath in outstretched r. and *stylis* in l. In front, RUDDER and Ⓐ.

Newell, ↑, gr. 8·52, **Plate I, 2** (formerly Brandis Sale, Canessa, Naples, May, 1922, no. 393). Another example from the same pair of dies was in the Naville Sale V, June 1923, no. 1395, gr. 8·57, Plate xlii.

Occasion is also taken here of pointing out that an issue of bronze coins, in two denominations, accompanied the gold and silver of Series III. Their types are: obverse, Macedonian shield with

[6] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 308–9, nos. 11–13.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 309 ff., nos. 14–29. It should here be noted that no. 29 should be removed from the end of Series III and placed next to no. 15 which in style it more nearly resembles.

a Gorgon head on the boss; reverse, Macedonian helmet between B — A. On the l., CADUCEUS; on the r., the monogram ⋚ or ⋈. Both of these monograms occur on the accompanying gold and silver, e. g. nos. 16, 17, 19, 20. In addition, the provenance of the bronze coins is almost invariably Cyprus,[8] which but further substantiates the home of the entire series. The die position of all is almost invariably ↑↑.

We are now in a position to approach the coins struck by Demetrius himself in his new possession of Cyprus. They commence with the following group:

Under Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Series I. *Circa* 306–301 B. C.

1. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. with formal curls and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a serpent.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Nike similar to the last coin (no. 31). In front, ΓΕ. Behind, Δ |.

A.—*a*. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↗, gr. 8·57, **Plate I, 3.**

2. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 1646.)

Head of young Heracles r., in style somewhat divergent from that of no. 30 and preceding issues.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on the r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated on high-backed throne to l. In field, ΓΕ. Beneath throne, Δ |.

I.—*1*. London, ↗, gr. 17·02, **Plate I, 4.**

2. Vienna, 29646, ↑, gr. 16·95; Newell, ↗, gr. 16·93.

3. Newell, ↗, gr. 17·13.

II.—*4*. Newell, ↑, gr. 17·12; New York, Metropolitan Museum, ↗, gr. 17·17, **Plate I, 5.**

III.—*5*. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·17 (cleaned).

IV.—*6*. Vienna, 29796, ↑, gr 17·10.

3. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 1645.)

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In field, ΓΕ. Beneath throne, Γ.

V.—*7*. Newell, ↗, gr. 16·99, **Plate I, 6.**

8. Paris, 1012, ↑, gr. 16·85.

[8] Many of the specimens in the writer's collection reached him direct from Cyprus. They also occur in Mr. Gunther's collection actually formed in Cyprus.

4. STATER. (Müller. no. 1324.)

Head of Athena to r. with flying curls, and wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a running griffin.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Nike as on no. 1. In front Γ. Behind, Σ.

B.—*b*. London, ↑, gr. 8·58, **Plate I, 7.**

c. (Obverse die damaged) Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↑, gr. 8·59; Paris, 399, ↑, gr. 8·62, **Plate I, 8.**

5. STATER. (Müller, no. 1325.)

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In front, ⅂. Behind, ⋚.

B.—*d*. Hague; Turin, Mus. Archeol., Fabretti no. 2544, gr. 8·53; Newell, ↑, gr. 8·45, **Plate I, 9.**

e. London, ↑, gr. 8·60, **Plate I, 10.**

6. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 1326.)

Heracles' head similar to that on nos. 2 and 3.

Similar to nos. 2 and 3. In field, ⋚. Beneath throne, Γ.

VI.—*9*. Vienna, 10591, ↑, gr. 16·8, **Plate I, 11.**

10. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 163, gr. 16·76.

VII.—*11*. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·35 (has been cleaned).

12. Hollschek Coll., gr. 16·89.

7. STATER.

From the same obverse die as nos. 4 and 5. This die has now become somewhat worn.

Similar in style and details to nos. 4 and 5. In front of Nike, ⍋. Behind Nike, Γ.

B.—*f*. Vienna, no. 10440, ↑, gr. 8·42, **Plate XVII, 23.**

8. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 1627.)

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In the field, ⍋. Beneath the throne, Γ.

VIII.—*13*. Paris, 1031, ↑, gr. 17·00, **Plate I, 12.**

It is indeed possible that the earliest issues of this group, nos. 1, 2, and 3 (**Plate I, nos. 3–6**), may have been struck before the appearance of Demetrius in Cyprus. On the other hand, it would seem

more plausible to attribute the slight break in style between nos. 1–8 and the immediately preceding Salaminian issues (nos. 30 and 31, together with nos. 14–29 of *Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'*) to the effect produced by the sudden overthrow of the Ptolemaic régime and the probably attendant change in the officials and personnel of the mint. Further striking evidence of such a change is to be seen in the complete disappearance of the mint symbol RUDDER, which from no. 14 through no. 31 is invariably present, and afterwards is as invariably absent. Nevertheless, the change in magistrates is not absolutely complete, for ΓΕ appears on three of the new coins and ⋕ is met with again at a later date. This important fact proves that we still have to do with issues of the same mint, that is, Salamis. Similarly, we may note that, although many details have been altered, there still remains, distinctly noticeable, a certain amount of stylistic affinity which continues to link nos. 1–8 of the present work with the previous coinage. This impression is further strengthened by observing the continued use of the general die position ↑↑.[9]

The date assigned to the present group, namely *circa* 306–301 B. C., is suggested by considerations of style and the number and sequence of dies. It is further confirmed by the evidence of finds. None of our gold coins was present in the Saida hoards which had been buried about 323 B. C.[10] On the other hand specimens of nos. 21 and 23 (of *Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'*), slightly worn, together with specimens of nos. 4 and 5 above, in brilliant condition, were in the Larnaca hoard buried shortly after 300 B. C.[11] Of the silver coins, no specimens were present in the Kyparissia[12] (327 B. C.), Demanhur[13] (319–318 B. C.), Andritsaena[14] (315 B. C.), or the Abu Hommos[15]

[9] As, throughout, the dies were apparently adjusted by hand, there is frequently noticeable a slight variation to right or to left from the true perpendicular in the reverse die. It is none the less obvious, however, that there was a constant intent to follow the general relationship ↑↑.

[10] Regling, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xxxiv, 1923, p. 177 and *Zur Münzprägung der Brettier*, p. 83, n. 2.

[11] Newell, *Tyrus Rediviva*, 1923, pp. 10–11.

[12] Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 3. [13] *Ibid.*, no. 19. [14] *Ibid.*, no. 21.

[15] This find was previously reported as having been found at Mansoura (see the writer's *Tyrus Rediviva*, p. 10, note 1). A recent visit to Egypt and careful inquiries instituted there prove that this interesting hoard of about a thousand tetradrachms was really found near Abu Hommos in the Delta, towards the end of 1919.

(311–310 B. C.) deposits. On the other hand, the Aleppo Hoard[16] (buried about 306 B. C.) contained examples of nos. 17, 18, 19, 27 (*Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'*, pp. 310 ff.) together with a single specimen of no. 2 above. A specimen each of no. 17 and of no. 3 reached the writer from a hoard said to have been found near Angora and which was apparently buried not long after 300 B. C.[17] Several third-century hoards known to the writer also contained specimens of the Salaminian 'Alexanders'. Judging from this evidence, then, they (that is, nos. 1–8) could not have been in circulation as early as 311 B. C. but were more or less common after about 306 B. C.

The style of nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 leads directly up to the following group of coins whose date, therefore, must be close to the turn of the century, that is about 301–300 B. C.

Series II. *Circa* 301–300 B. C.

9. STATER.

Athena head of a style identical with that found on nos. 4 and 5.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Nike similar in style and details with coins of the preceding issue. On l., 𐤀. On r., 𐤔.

C.—*g*. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↑, gr. 8·53, **Plate I, 13.**

10. STATER.

Head of Athena wearing a triple-crested, serpent-adorned Corinthian helmet. Her hair is held together at the nape of her neck by a double bandeau. The style and details are very similar to no. 5, Plate XV of *Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'*.

Similar to the preceding but of finer style. On l., 𐤌. On r., 𐤔.

D.—*h*. Newell, Collignon Sale, Paris, 1919, no. 195, ↑, gr. 8·53, **Plate I, 14.**

[16] See the brief description and discussion of this hoard in the writer's *Tyrus Rediviva*, p. 10.

[17] A brief notice of this hoard in *Tyrus Rediviva*, p. 11.

11. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 222.)

Head of young Heracles to r. covered with lion's skin. Circle of dots around.	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on high-backed throne. He holds an eagle in his outstretched r. and rests l. on sceptre. In l. field, 𐤁𐤐. Beneath throne, 𐤀.

IX.—*14*. Vienna, 10516, ↑, gr. 16·92 ; Newell, ↑, gr. 16·96, **Plate I, 15.**

12. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤁𐤐. Beneath throne, 𐤀.

IX.—*15*. Florence, Museo Archeologico ; Newell, ↖, gr. 17·20, **Plate I, 16.**

13. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 219.)

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤉𐤐. Beneath throne, 𐤀.

X.—*16*. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↖, gr. 16·635, **Plate I, 17.**

This second group comprises two varieties of the gold stater and three of the silver tetradrachm. The two staters are connected with each other by the unusual monogram 𐤔. The monogram 𐤀, found on no. 9, serves to associate these coins with the tetradrachms nos. 11–13. These three tetradrachms, furthermore, are closely united, *inter se*, by identity of style, fabric, and monograms—as a glance at **Plate I, 15–17**, will sufficiently demonstrate. In addition, a single obverse die (IX) was used for the production of nos. 11 and 12.

On the one hand Series II is but the continuation of Series I as shown by style (compare **Plate I, 13** with **Plate I, 7–10** ; **Plate I, 15–17** with **Plate I, 12**), the adjustment of dies to the general scheme ↑↑, and the similarity of the monograms 𐤀 (9, 11), 𐤀 (12, 13) and 𐤀 (7, 8). There is also a stylistic bond between this group and a still earlier Salaminian issue, as can best be recognized by comparing the stater no. 10 (**Plate I, 14**) with the stater 'a' likewise on **Plate I** (= no. 28 of *Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'*). It is to be noticed that the monogram 𐤀 (or 𐤀), common to this group, also appears on the latter coin. On the other hand, our present Series of five coins is closely allied, as we shall soon see, both by style and monograms with the

group (Series III) which succeeds it. Thus, in short, Series II serves as a bridge between the first Cypriote Alexandrine issue (Series I, nos. 1–8) of Demetrius and his third issue (Series III, nos. 14–24) which bears his own personal types.

Series III. *Circa* 300–295 B. C.

14. TETRADRACHM.

Winged Nike to l. holding a trumpet (*salpinx*) in her r. and the *stylis* in her l. She is alighting on the forecastle (in this instance adorned with a star) of a galley's prow to l. The whole is surrounded by a circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (divided ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕΩ/Σ) below. Poseidon, naked but for his chlamys which is wrapped about his outstretched l. arm, striding to l. and brandishing in his r. hand an ornamented trident. In l. field, . In r. field, . The whole is enclosed in a circle of dots.

XI.—*17.* J. Wertheim, ex Hirsch XXXIV, no. 297, ↑, gr. 16·60.
18. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·54, **Plate II, 1.**
19. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 2, ↑, gr. 16·98.

15. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding but without the star on the forecastle.

Similar to the preceding. In field to l., . In field to r., .

XII.—*20.* London, ↖, gr. 16·73, **Plate II, 2.**
21. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·89.
22. Athens, ↖, gr. 16·30.

16. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In field to l., . In field to r., .

XIII.—*23.* Turin, Museo Archeologico, Fabretti, no. 2666, ↑, gr. 16·95, **Plate II, 3.**

17. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In field to l., . In field to r., .

XIV.—*24.* Newell, ↖, gr. 16·86, **Plate II, 4.**

18. TETRADRACHM.

Similar in every detail to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field to l., HP. In field to r., ⋈.

XV.—*25.* Newell, ↗, gr. 16·87; Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↗, gr. 17·05, **Plate II, 5**

26. Turin, Royal Coll., no. 19956, ↗, gr. 17·00; M. Reinach, ↗, **Plate XVII, 24.**

XVI.—*27.* Jameson, no. 1001, ↑, gr. 16·88, **Plate II, 6.**

XVII.—*28.* Consul Weber, Hirsch, XXI, no. 1253, gr. 17·18.

19. STATER. (Müller, no. 1634.)

Head of Athena to r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a serpent. Style and details (e.g. hair-dressing, &c.) similar to no. 10. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged Nike as on no. 10. In field to l., ⋈.

E.—*i.* London, ↗, gr. 8·53.

j. Empedocles Coll., ↗.

k. Copenhagen, ↑, **Plate II, 7.**

F.—*l.* Newell, ex-Grand-Duke Alexander Michailovitch Coll., ↗, gr. 8·53, **Plate II, 8.**

20. BRONZE UNIT.

Youthful male head (Demetrius?) to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a bull's horn. B A above prow to r. The prow is similar in details to the prows as found on nos. 14–18. Beneath prow, ⋈.

α–*λ*. Newell, gr. 4·24, 4·08, 4·00, 3·92, 3·88, 3·87, **Plate II, 9,** 3·80, **Plate II, 10,** 3·54, 3·42, 3·20, 2·94, 2·36.

μ–*π*. London, gr. 4·22, 4·21, 4·15, 3·83, 3·68.

ρ–*υ*. Paris, no. 1364, gr. 3·79; no. 1365, gr. 3·70; no. 1367, gr. 3·59; no. 1367 a, gr. 4·92.

φ–*εε*. Berlin, gr. 4·03 (countermarked Δ), 4·25, 2·66, 3·74 (Löbbecke Coll.), 5·74 (Imhoof-Blumer), 4·21 (Fox), 4·35 (Imhoof-Blumer), 3·05 (Imhoof-Blumer), 3·78 (Löbbecke).

ff–*ιι*. Athens, gr. 4·50, 4·05, 3·70, 3·65, 3·60.

κκ–*λλ*. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 16, gr. 3·18; no. 17, gr. 3·43.

The normal die relationship in the foregoing bronze coins is ↑ or ↗. For two specimens in Athens, one in Berlin and one in the writer's collection it is ↓ or ↙.

21. STATER.

Winged Nike to l. on prow. She holds *salpinx* and *stylis* exactly as on the preceding tetradrachms.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Athena Promachus, seen from the rear, striding to l. and holding gorgon-adorned shield before her with her l. whilst she brandishes a spear in her raised r. hand. In field to l., ⋈.

G.—*m.* Florence, Museo Archeologico, ↑, **Plate II, 11**; Berlin (see *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, 1904, p. 47), gr. 8·54, **Plate II, 12.**

22. TETRADRACHM.

Winged Nike on prow to l. as on the preceding.

Inscription[18] as above. Fighting Poseidon as on no. 18 and preceding, but of advanced style. In field to l., ⋈. In field to r., ⋈.

XV.—*29.* Berlin, ↑, **Plate II, 14.**

XVIII.—*30.* Merzbacher Sale, Nov. 1909, no. 2797, gr. 17·11 (= Nervegna Sale, 1907, no. 832); Bourgey, Norman Coll., no. 82; Brussels, ↑, gr. 17·068.

31. Naville, X, June 1925, no. 446 (= Naville, IV, June 1922, no. 469), ↑, gr. 17·06, Plate 15.

32. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↑, gr. 17·09, **Plate II, 13.**

33. Dr. E. P. Robinson, , gr. 16·91.

34. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 3, ↑, gr. 17·13.

XIX.—*35.* Paris, 1339, ↑, gr. 16·88.

36. Naples, 6672, ↑, gr. 16·84.

37. H. A. Greene, ↑, gr. 17·00; Brussels, Baron de Hirsch, ↑, gr. 17·155, **Plate II, 15.**

38. Gotha.

XX.—*39.* London, ↑, gr. 16·87, **Plate II, 16.**

40. Sir Charles Oman, ↑, gr. 16·78.

41. Mrs. E. T. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·94.

42. Leningrad, Hermitage.

XXI.—*43.* Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 17·22, **Plate II, 17.**

44. Athens, ↑, gr. 15·51 (badly corroded); Leningrad, Hermitage.

45. Hirsch, Hoskier Coll., no. 253, ↑, gr. 16·96 (= Schulman, van Belle Coll., 1913, no. 2222).

[18] The kingly title in the inscription is divided as follows:
ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕ/ΩΣ on reverse dies *29, 30, 35, 42, 45, 46, 47.*
ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕΩ/Σ on reverse dies *31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 49.*
ΒΑΣ/ΙΛΕΩ/Σ on reverse dies *39, 40, 41, 43, 44.*
ΒΑΣ/ΙΛΕΩΣ on reverse dies *34, 48.*

XXII.—*46.* Naville, X, June 1925, no. 445 (= Naville. I, Pozzi Coll., no. 955), ↗, gr. 16·42, Plate 15; Same sale, no. 956, gr. 16·91, Plate xxxi.

XXIII.—*47.* Newell, ↑, gr. 16·72.

XXIV.—*48.* Newell, ↑, gr. 16·54 (= Chapman, Chaloner Sale, 1895, no. 29).

XXV.—*49.* Copenhagen, gr. 17·19, **Plate II, 18.**

23. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.[19] In field to l., ⋈. Between the legs of Poseidon, ⊬.

XXVI.—*50.* Naville, V, June 1923, no. 1459, gr. 17·12; Locker-Lampson Coll., no. 166, ↗, gr. 16·88, **Plate II, 19.**

51. Leningrad, Hermitage.

52. Washington, National Coll., ↑, gr. 17·09.

XXVII.—*53.* Paris, 1340, ↑, gr. 16·96.

54. Leningrad, Hermitage; Munich, ↑, **Plate III, 1.**

XXVIII.—*55.* Vicomte de Sartiges Coll., no. 209, Plate xiii, gr. 17·13 (= Benson Sale, no. 432); Oxford, ↗, gr. 17·08, **Plate XVII, 25.**

XXIX.—*56.* Dr. Giesecke, gr. 16·85 (= Hess, Berlin Duplicates, March 1906, no. 344); Newell, ↗, gr. 17·22, **Plate III, 2.**

57. Washington, National Coll., ↗, gr. 15·98 (worn).

XXX.—*58.* Berlin, Fox, ↗.

59. Cambridge, McClean Coll., ↗, gr. 15·83 (= Yorke-Moore Sale, no. 243); Hirsch, XIX, Nov. 1907, no. 333, gr. 16·00; John Ward Coll., no. 399, gr. 16·65, Plate x.

XXXI.—*60* London, ↑, gr. 17·23, **Plate III, 3.**

61.[20] Platt, Luneau Coll., no. 382, gr. 17·00 (= Hirsch, XIII, Rhousopoulos, 1905, no. 1158, and Merzbacher Sale, Nov. 1910, no. 406) **Plate III, 4.**

24. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, except that the monogram between Poseidon's legs has the form, ⋈⊬.

XXXII.—*62.* Berlin, ↗, gr. 16·93, **Plate III, 5.**

[19] The kingly title is arranged as follows: ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕ/ΩΣ on dies *50–55* inclusive, ΒΑΣ/ΙΛΕ/ΩΣ on dies *56–58* inclusive, and ΒΑΣ/ΙΛΕΩ/Σ on dies *59–61* inclusive.

[20] On this reverse die the monogram ⋈ has been re-engraved over a preceding ⊬ giving the form ⋈⊬.

As has already been pointed out, the Alexandrine issues of Series II and the eleven varieties which go to make up Series III form a closely united group. The official signing himself variously ΗΡ or ΗΡ (standing probably for Heracleides, or some similar common form) appears on the majority of the pieces and seems, at this time, to have been the chief magistrate of our mint. The first of the Nike tetradrachms (nos. 14 and 15, **Plate II, 1 and 2**) are certainly part of the same issue as the immediately preceding tetradrachms of the Alexander type (nos. 11–13, **Plate I, 15-17**). All five coins bear exactly the same monograms (ΗΡ, ΗΡ, ΠΑ) and are of identical style and fabric. In fact the Zeus and Poseidon figures show unmistakable evidences of having been cut by one and the same hand. Compare the splendid modelling of the bodies, the remarkable ability with which the die engraver has rendered the texture and consistency of the flesh, the fine details and beautiful contours of the two deities. In particular, compare under the magnifying glass the heads of Zeus and Poseidon of nos. 11–18 (**Plate I, 15–17** and **Plate II, 1–6**). They will be found to be absolutely identical, even down to the minutest details such as the arrangement of the locks at the neck, the expression of the features and the handling of the planes.

The gold stater no. 19 and the bronze denomination no. 20 must both be included in the series, first because the monogram they bear (ΠΦ) is but an insignificant variant form of the very unusual monogram (ΠΦ) found on nos. 18, 21, 22, 23, and 24. In the second place, because of the striking similarity in style and fabric no. 19 (**Plate II, 7-8**) cannot well be separated from the stater no. 10 (**Plate I, 14**) and the stater marked '**a**' on the same plate.

We have already discussed the reasons for assigning Series I and II to Salamis in Cyprus. With the entire series now before us it might be well to recapitulate. In the first place the issue as a whole very apparently commences with the Alexandrine staters and tetradrachms nos. 1–8, and these, as we have seen, can only be a continuation of the similar coinage struck in Salamis under Nicocreon and Menelaus. Three magistrates (ΓΕ, ⸸, ΠΑ) do not end their activities with the fall of Salamis in 306 B. C. but continue to function at various times under Demetrius. We may feel certain that the stater no. 19 is from Cyprus, as is primarily suggested by its appear-

ance and style. More convincing still is the manner in which Athena's hair is arranged at the back. The fashion of tying the hair with a ribbon, just below the neck-guard of the helmet, at this early date is peculiar to Cypriote Alexander staters. It first appeared there in the period 316–306[21] and later became quite general. The same coiffure is likewise found on bronze coins which we are absolutely certain were struck in the island under Ptolemy.[22] What, therefore, is *a priori* a most probable attribution for no. 19 and its associates is finally settled by the fact that the accompanying bronze coins (no. 20) are almost invariably found on the island of Cyprus. Three of the specimens in the British Museum are labelled as having come from Cyprus, while no less than ten of the twelve specimens in the writer's collection were sent him from that island. Mr. Gunther, for many years a resident there, kindly informs me that he has secured for his collection as many as sixteen specimens, one and all found in Cyprus.

Thus the Cypriote origin of the entire group (nos. 1–24) appears to be well established. This being the case the mint itself can only have been situated at Salamis. This has already been determined for the earlier Alexandrine issues (those of 332–306 B. C.) and that fact must hold good for the continuation of those issues. There can be no doubt but that, under Demetrius, Salamis still remained the principal city and capital of the island and the station for his fleet—as it had been for Ptolemy's before him. We may rest assured, therefore, that here too was the large mint that issued so many of Demetrius' coins. None of the other cities on the island seem to have coined at all under Demetrius. Therefore we reach the conclusion that the entire group which we have been studying must have been struck at Salamis in Cyprus, and that its issue took place between the extreme dates as represented in the city's capture by Demetrius in the summer of 306 B. C. and its recapture by Ptolemy in the year 294–293 B. C.

Perhaps the most interesting question which we have now to face is at what date did Demetrius first introduce the new types of Nike on the prow, and of Poseidon? We have seen how evenly continuous

[21] *Some Cypriote 'Alexanders'*, p. 316.

[22] J. N. Svoronos, Τά Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, nos. 74–82.

was the series of coins struck by him in the single mint of Salamis. It can hardly be fortuitous that the series is composed of two nearly equal groups, the earlier containing thirteen varieties (nos. 1–13) of the pure Alexander type, the second containing eleven (nos. 14–24) varieties of which ten present the new types. This observation would seem to suggest that the change in types came a little beyond midway of the twelve years (summer 306–294 B. C.) during which Demetrius maintained his rule over Cyprus. In other words, by this somewhat empirical method of reckoning, the first adoption of purely personal types would seem to have occurred in and around the year 300 B. C. This result seems eminently probable. For is it at all likely that Demetrius would have presumed to coin money at Salamis in his own name and with his own types before the death of his father Antigonus? Such might possibly [23] have been the case had he actually remained in Cyprus throughout the period 306–301 B. C., but this is exactly what he did not do. We know definitely that Demetrius, early in 305 B. C., was taking an active part in the abortive expedition against Egypt.[24] In 305–304 B. C. he was before Rhodes, while throughout the years from the end of 304 to the spring of 301 B. C. he was campaigning in Greece and the Peloponnesus. Though also bearing the title of Βασιλεύς he was really little more than his father's admiral and commander-in-chief of the armies in the field. There is not much likelihood, therefore, that as yet he would have deviated from Antigonus' firm policy of striking only coins which bore the divine Alexander's name and types.

In other words, then, Demetrius would hardly have adopted new types for his coinage in Cyprus immediately after his great victory at

[23] It is to be remembered that both Nicocreon and Menelaus, as local kings as well as Egyptian στρατηγοί, struck a few gold and silver coins bearing personal types and with their several names in monogram preceded by the Cypriote sign for βα (= βασιλεύς). Their principal coinages, however, were of the pure Alexander type. Now it is just conceivable, though highly improbable, that Demetrius, upon his seizure of the island, imitated them and struck coins in his own name and with his own types—namely the Nike-on-the-prow tetradrachms. But there remains a vast difference between these issues of Demetrius and those of his predecessors. The latter's personal coinages were obviously intended only for local circulation and were far outnumbered by their contemporary Alexandrine issues. Demetrius' coinages, with his personal types, were as obviously intended for the wide circulation which they actually achieved.

[24] Diodorus xx.

Salamis. Is it not obvious that some time must have elapsed and some great change in conditions have taken place before he found the opportunity, or felt the necessity for adopting a new coinage policy, or choosing such radically new types as presented by his Nike tetradrachms? In the meanwhile, money for his vast and expensive operations would be a prime necessity, and the easiest and most obvious course to pursue was simply to continue the coinage of the old Alexander type, known and still generally used not only in Cyprus but throughout his father's wide dominions. The coinage as represented by nos. 1–13 probably lasted, therefore, until Demetrius, by Antigonus' death at Ipsus, became the sole arbiter of the policies and destinies of his realm,

The change in types, however, must have come soon after the great disaster at Ipsus in the summer of 301 B.C. As stated above, Demetrius was now ruler of the remnants of an empire. By his very nature he would not long hesitate to follow the example already set by such rivals as Seleucus and Ptolemy, who long ago had introduced their own names and types upon their respective coinages. Therefore Demetrius now discarded the old-fashioned types so long patronized by his father and adopted designs of a more personal character, such, indeed, as were more flattering to his own vanity. At the same time they were also well calculated to remind rivals, as well as subjects, that he was still the unchallenged master of the sea and that the victor of Salamis was yet a power to reckon with. Thus we see that the new types were both characteristic and appropriate. By his brilliant success off Salamis Demetrius had gained enduring fame. Furthermore, his assumption of the overlordship of Cyprus rested entirely upon that victory. When after Ipsus things were hanging perilously in the balance, it was almost entirely by means of his navy that Demetrius was finally able to retrieve his sadly drooping fortunes. At this particular juncture to remind his exultant enemies and his own wavering subjects of the immortal battle which had originally given him his naval supremacy, as well as his reputation as an invincible admiral, was an excellent policy. We need not be surprised, therefore, that the types chosen should, under any circumstances, have referred directly to the battle off Salamis. On the obverse we find a winged victory lightly descending upon the

prow of a defeated galley. Her flying draperies tell the forward rush of her descent. In her right hand she holds a long war trumpet with which she is proclaiming the great victory by loud and strident blasts. In her left hand she holds the *stylis*, the signal mast wrenched from the defeated admiral's flagship—fit symbol of the utter collapse of his battle plans and the ruin of his fleet. Earth-shaking Poseidon, brandishing his trident, strides across the reverse of our coin. His left hand and arm, wrapped around with his mantle, are stretched forward in defence, yet at the same time as if suggestively pointing the way to victory and dominion.

Such were the striking types which Demetrius chose to place upon his new coinage. By such means was presented a most effective counterblast to the unfortunate moral effects of the recent disaster. If there ever was a case of conscious propaganda in Greek coin types, surely those of Demetrius present a classic and most obvious example.

The reader need hardly be reminded that these coins have also been the means of assigning[25] the famous statue in the Louvre of the 'Winged Victory', or the 'Victory of Samothrace' as she is variously designated, to the time of Demetrius, and its purpose the commemoration of his victory off Salamis. However, there still remained some legitimate doubts[26] as to the correctness of this view. Later Hatzfeld[27] came out strongly in opposition to it, adducing some excellent reasons against the probability, or even the possibility, of Demetrius having ever been in the position to set up a triumphal statue in Samothrace. Supported by the fragment of an inscription, found not far from the spot on which the Victory once stood, he assigns the statue to a Rhodian origin. This view is also taken by Dickins[28] who unquestioningly gives it to the Rhodian school and places the date of the erection at about 250 B. C. If these views are

[25] Conze, Hauser, and Bendorf, *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, vol. ii, pp. 75–87; Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, vol. ii, p. 467; E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 528; O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*, 1884, vol. ii; Studniczka, *Die Siegesgöttin*, 1908, pp. 23 ff.

[26] Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, vol. ii, p. 373; S. Reinach, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1891, i, p. 98; Klein, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, vol. iii, p. 289.

[27] *Rev. Arch.*, vol. xv, 1910, pp. 132–8.

[28] Guy Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 46–7. See also Studniczka in *Jahrbuch*, 1924, p. 125.

accepted, then the type on our coins can have nothing whatever to do with the Victory of Samothrace.

A comparative study of all the known coins of Demetrius bearing the so-called 'Nike of Samothrace' for their obverse type, brings out one curious coincidence which lends some support to the old viewpoint that our coin type was based on the Nike of the Louvre. It has already been noticed by many that if the Nike figure of the coins had really been inspired by the statue found on Samothrace, then it must represent a somewhat free rendering of the original. For instance, on the coins Nike's wings are differently placed and proportionately much larger than those of the statue itself.[29] This observation is quite true of the majority of the coins. In two notable instances, however, the wings are much smaller than usual and in a position strikingly similar to that found on the statue. Now it is obvious that there could have been but small chance that the die-cutters in Cyprus, in Tarsus, in Miletus, or in Ephesus—where the majority of the coins in question were struck—could ever have seen the statue set up in distant Samothrace. Their designs could only have been made from word descriptions or possibly sketches which had been sent to them for that purpose. So it is rather curious to note that only upon the earliest issues of Pella (**Plate VI, nos. 15–18, and 20**) and especially upon those of Amphipolis (**Plate VIII, nos. 16 and 17, Plate IX, nos. 1 and 2**) are we given a rendering of the wings at all comparable to those of the Louvre statue. These two mints were certainly far nearer to Samothrace than any of the remaining mints which were active in striking our Nike coins. Though of mediocre ability their artists' rendering of details was the most accurate of all, provided we take the Louvre statue as a criterion. This curious coincidence may mean much or little—depending, in the final analysis, entirely upon our individual attitude with regard to the statue's real date and original dedicator.

From the numismatic standpoint there are some further interesting points brought out by the Nike type on Demetrius' issues. For instance, apparently on only two previous occasions had a naval battle been commemorated on coins in at all a similar fashion. The first of these instances, curiously enough, occurs in Cypriote numis-

[29] O. Rayet, *ibid.*, p. 7.

matics. This is the well-known and beautiful stater of Aristonicus (?) of Curium (?) which almost certainly refers to some naval victory. The coin has been discussed at length by numerous writers [30] so that it would be idle to take up the question once more in detail. In brief, the type depicts Athena, seated upon a ship's prow. The presence of the *aplustre* in her hand, and at which she gazes so intently, proves that the whole type must refer to some successful naval action, for the *aplustre*, torn from the enemy's ship, always had the significance of a victory at sea. The Cypriote origin of the coin is unquestionable, though we are not quite certain of the issuer and cannot therefore name the particular battle which the type was intended to commemorate.

We are in a more fortunate position as regards the second instance. Here it has been possible to show [31] that the coins in question were struck between the years 341 and 338 B. C. at Histiaea in Euboea, and that they refer directly to the successful military operations on land and sea which forced the evacuation of that city by the Macedonians and their sympathizers. The type chosen for these coins represents the eponymous nymph of the city seated upon the stern of a war vessel which in this instance obviously belongs to the victors. She is portrayed as in the very act of reading—with evident pleasure and delight—the watchword of the day ΛΘΑΝΑ (or possibly ΑΘΑΝΑΣ [32]) which must have guided and inspired the fleet to victory. These two coin types, the Cypriote as well as the Euboïc, are splendid examples of Greek artistic genius of the Fourth Century. The delicate modelling, the fine lines of the drapery, the repose of the figures, the artistic restraint are still quite adequate to express the joy of victory. It is interesting to see how far different a spirit is revealed in every line of Demetrius' coin. It, too, is typical of its time. A child of the early Hellenistic age, it expresses to the full its vigour and lust of conquest, its rush and restlessness. No longer adequate is the graceful figure, seated and contemplating

[30] R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena-Nike*, pp. 1 and 5; E. Babelon, *Traité*, ii², pp. 827–32; G. F. Hill, *Cyprus*, Introd., p. xliv; E. T. Newell, *The Octobols of Histiaea*, no. 2 of The American Numismatic Society's *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*.

[31] E. T. Newell, *loc. cit.*

[32] See Svoronos, *Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.*, vol. xx, 1922, p. 40, note 1.

in quiet joy and thankfulness the symbol of victory. No, now it is necessary to depict a rushing victory, with beating wings and fluttering drapery, alighting at the very moment of victory upon the enemy's defeated flagship. The prow of the ship is broken in token of defeat, the signal mast is wrenched away and held in Nike's hand, the while she loudly proclaims the victory so that all the world may hear! How typical of the Hellenistic age, remarkably like our own in many ways. We, too, can appreciate the spirit of this conception which, with all its faults, yet appeals strongly to our modern viewpoint. While admitting the touch, one might almost say, of bumptiousness and of a slightly blatant pride expressed in the entire design —as compared with the better and more refined taste of the earlier conceptions—we yet must admire the healthy vigour and indomitable energy depicted by Demetrius' types—fit representatives of the man himself.

It has been repeatedly stated above that our type portrays Nike alighting on the prow of one of the *defeated* galleys. This runs counter to Conze's ideas concerning the famous statue in Paris, a statue that is still often considered to have been erected by Demetrius in commemoration of the same great victory to which our coins so evidently refer. Now Conze [33] believes the statue to have originally represented Nike—or Fame according to Eckhel—standing on the prow of a *Diploia*, a swift-sailing bireme frequently used as a scout-ship or for the carrying of messages and commands. In other words, standing upon the prow of the successful admiral's dispatch ship, Nike is bearing to the shore the glad tidings of the great victory. This may be the correct interpretation of the act as depicted by the sculptor, though, if the statue and the coins are really closely associated, some doubts arise in the writer's mind. In the first place the battle was certainly fought in sight of land, as we learn from Polyaenus' account (iv. 7. 7). Therefore, the general results of the battle must have soon been apparent to all without the intervention of a messenger, for Diodorus tells us that Demetrius' troops were drawn up along the shore. Nike is winged and so the question naturally arises why should she need the aid of so mundane an object as a boat, however swift, to bear her to land? If the

[33] *Loc. cit.*

artist merely introduced the prow to designate the victory as a naval one, would this not be somewhat redundant? Would not the *stylis*, which Nike, following the coins, is supposed to have held in her left hand be amply sufficient to apprise any observer that a sea victory was intended? Of course, if Dickins[34] is correct in his surmise that the statue held a wreath and not a trumpet in her right hand, then the prow upon which she stands may well belong to the conquerors and not to the defeated.

However this may be, it is certain that on the coins at least Nike is alighting on one of the defeated ships. This follows from a certain peculiarity observable on all of Demetrius' coins bearing the Nike type. If the various specimens be carefully examined it will soon be observed that all show clearly a notch or break indicated at the topmost point of the *stolos*. Now the *stolos* (στόλος), according to both ancient and modern writers,[35] was the curved, swanlike, object that rises from the stem, high above the prow, of an ancient ship. It served the purpose both of ornament and 'weapon' (στόλος) for the prow. At the period of which we are treating, namely the fourth century B. C., it either curved backwards and ended in a round disk (or sometimes a volute-like ornament) having its convex side facing forward or, more often still and especially on warships, it curved forward and ended in a projecting horn[36] called the ἀκροστόλιον—that is, the point or topmost part of the στόλος.[37] This latter form can be clearly distinguished on the various more or less contemporaneous coins given on **Plate XVIII, nos. 8–14.**[38] In every one of these cases the ship depicted evidently belongs to the state or ruler which struck the coin in question. Therefore the prows are certainly not

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

[35] Cartault, *La Trière Athénienne*, p. 84. See also Assmann in Baumeister's *Denkmäler, &c.*, p. 1602, where he says: 'Die obere Fortsetzung des Vorderstevens heisst στόλος, etc.'; Svoronos, *Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.*, vol. xvi, 1914, pp. 130 ff.; Schol. to Apoll. Rhodius, i. 1089; Didymus in Eusthat. *ad Iliad. O.*, v. 717.

[36] Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, p. 133, describes it exactly as 'ayant exactement la forme d'une énorme corne de taureau courbée en avant et menaçante'.

[37] Didymus, *loc. cit.*, where it is distinctly stated: καὶ αὐτοῦ φήσιν ὁ Δίδυμος ὅτι τὸ λεγόμενον ἀκροστόλιον ἔστιν ἄκρος στόλος.

[38] Anson, in his *Greek Coin-types*, pt. v, gives further examples of ancient prows. His Plates XV to XX give typical specimens, both of the simpler form, as well as of the particular type of prow now under discussion.

those of *defeated* ships. In all cases the extra, forward-curving ornament at the top of the *stolos* is plainly visible. It is this ornament that is so conspicuously missing from the prows found on Demetrius' silver coins.[39] Furthermore, we know that it was this particular ornament that victors in ancient times were accustomed to saw off (ἀκρωτηρίζειν) in order to carry away as trophies.[40] For the 'horn', as a symbol of strength and power, was placed upon the prow by the Greeks for apotropaic reasons.[41] But if now it were lost or removed, the ship would no longer be divinely protected and so, to the superstitious ancients, would no longer possess the power of offensive or defensive action—it would be *hors de combat*. On Demetrius' coins, there being no reason in itself for the notch[42] or break mentioned above, it is at once apparent that the artist desired to indicate that the horn of the *stolos*, in other words the *acrostolion*, had here been sawed off or broken away.[43] Therefore the ship on all the coins of the Nike type, having been so evidently deprived of its *acrostolion*, can be none other than one of the defeated galleys upon which Nike is descending at the moment of victory.[44] To the writer's mind, Nike alighting at the very moment of victory upon the defeated ship would seem a far more grandiose and dramatic conception—and therefore more commensurate with Hellenistic taste—than the rather

[39] Some of his bronze coins, however, being without the figure of Nike, give the complete form of the prow, e. g. **Plate XVII, 15, 18, 19**. Here the prow surely belongs to one of Demetrius' own galleys.

[40] Assmann, *loc. cit.*

[41] It was supposed to serve the purpose of warding off all danger from the prow.

[42] It is surprising that Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, p. 137, note 5, does not quite grasp the significance of this notch. He apparently thinks that two *stoloi*, side by side, are represented. No ancient source, literary or monumental, gives us any reason for supposing such a representation. If now the artists who executed the finest of our dies had really intended to represent two *stoloi* they certainly could and would have done so in a more convincing fashion. Merely notching the point does not convey the impression that there are in reality two *stoloi*. Obviously a second line, following the curve of the first and running from the 'notch' to the base of the *stolos* would have been the simplest, most accurate, and at the same time most effective way of accomplishing their object. In Greek numismatics this expedient was time and again employed when it was desired to represent two or more objects side by side.

[43] As Dressel has already brought out in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, 1904, pp. 47–8.

[44] Svoronos includes Demetrius' issues in a list of coins bearing prows surmounted by various divinities possessing an apotropaic significance. The present writer, for the reasons stated above, cannot agree with Svoronos' view.

absurd one of the goddess, winged though she be, having to be carried to the shore on a dispatch boat in order that she might proclaim the great victory! The writer can but join the ranks of those who have recently voiced serious doubt concerning the association of Demetrius' coins with the famous statue in the Louvre.

The fighting Athena of the stater (no. 21), as also the fighting Poseidon of the accompanying tetradrachms, may well have been copied from actual statues, but as both represent fairly common types it would be difficult—if not impossible—to determine which particular statues served our die-cutters as models. The motives themselves go back at least to archaic times. For instance, a very similar representation of Poseidon is found on sixth-century coins of Poseidonia in Italy, though in that case the god's mantle falls over his fore-arms and behind his shoulders instead of being wrapped about his outstretched left arm, as on Demetrius' issues. While the motive itself is very early, the details of the figure on the coinages of Demetrius would seem to indicate a model originating perhaps in the Phidian period, or even a little later.

The Athena figure has still many suggestions about it of archaic or, at most, early transitional times, and should be compared with the well-known statue from Herculaneum in the Naples Museum.[45] On our stater we see the rear view of the same statue of which Ptolemy's die-cutters have given us the front view.[46] Every detail of attitude, drapery, helmet, spear, &c., is identical in both representations. Her appearance upon certain of Demetrius' coins may perhaps be partly due to his well-known partiality for the great patron goddess of his beloved Athens. He even, as a brother god, presumed to dwell in her temple upon the Acropolis during his sojourns at Athens.[47] Svoronos believes[48] the type to be the copy of some well-known Palladium, the protectress of cities and symbolic of their freedom.[49] This particular type was, in his estimation, adopted by Ptolemy, by Pyrrhus, and by Demetrius to symbolize their favourite policy of

[45] Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Plate 459, no. 848 (Mus. Borb., no. 102); C. Waldstein, *Herculaneum*, &c., Plate 20.

[46] Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα, &c., Plates II, IV, V and VI.

[47] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xxiii. 3 and xxiv. 1.

[48] *Loc. cit.*, vol. i, pp. π′ and πα′; vol. iv, p. 28.

[49] Furtwängler in *Roscher's Lex.*, p. 691.

obtaining freedom for Greek cities—such cities as happened to belong to some one else. That such an explanation of the type in question may be apposite enough for the issues of Ptolemy or of Pyrrhus is not disputed. It does not, however, seem to meet Demetrius' case quite so well. If Demetrius was thereby intending to proclaim, far and wide, his laudable policy of 'freedom for the Greek cities' why should he have placed the Palladium type only upon what was a very small issue of gold coins—so small in fact that only two specimens have survived to the present day—or upon certain insignificant bronze coins (nos. 39, 41, 166) whose issue was also very limited and whose circulation, in the very nature of things, could not be otherwise than most restricted? Furthermore, Demetrius was not proclaiming freedom for the cities of Caria, Cilicia, Cyprus, where these coins were struck and where they would principally circulate. If the type of the Palladium had had any such significance for Demetrius he would have been far better advised to have placed it upon his silver denominations whose issues would obviously be larger and whose circulation be far wider.

On these issues for Salamis the true significance of the Athena type is brought out most strongly by the fact that it is so exactly the counterpart of the fighting Poseidon type. Both gods are seen in identical attitudes, both are seen from behind, both are striding to the left and aggressively wielding their respective weapons. It is also to be noted that they occupy the reverse, or the less important side of the coin. They serve to give yet further point to the great message conveyed by the principal or obverse type—the splendid victory of Salamis. For, as every one now knows, it is this great victory which the types of our coins were especially designed to commemorate. In other words, Athena and Poseidon as comrades-in-arms are supposed to have together brought about Demetrius' unparalleled success.[50] This close association of the two deities on a single coinage should not surprise us. We are perhaps too prone to remember first their bitter strife for possession of the Athenian Acropolis. But even there, as in so many other places of the Greek world, did Athena and Poseidon later unite in friendly spirit, their

[50] This is Dressel's opinion, see *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, vol. xxiv, 1904, p. 48.

several cults actually existing side by side.[51] In fact, what more suitable union of patron deities could Demetrius have chosen for his coinage than that of Athena and Poseidon, those two divine antagonists for his beloved Acropolis who have now laid aside their former enmity and have joined arms to ensure his dominion over land and sea?

There can be no question but that it was Ptolemy who first adopted the Athena Promachus type. Ever since about 315–314 B. C. he had been issuing his Athena tetradrachms[52] in immense numbers and they must have become a familiar sight to the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. Especially would this be true of Cyprus, an island which Ptolemy had held firmly down to the fatal day off Salamis in the summer of 306 B. C. It is interesting to note that on Ptolemy's issues the figure of Athena Promachus is seen from the front and is advancing to the right. Was it because of this fact that on the gold coins of Demetrius the position of the goddess is reversed and that she is portrayed as advancing to the left? For Demetrius could plausibly claim that at Salamis Athena had fought for him against her former protégé. Whether intended or not, people to whom Ptolemy's coins had long been a familiar sight would probably be quick to catch the subtle inference conveyed in the change of design.

The bronze coin (no. 20), whose usual Cypriote provenance has already been discussed, is interesting from still another point of view. The helmeted head of its obverse is usually described as that of Athena.[53] Mr. Seltman, however, points out[54] that it is more likely

[51] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, pp. 269 ff. Cults of Athena and Poseidon are found more or less closely associated at Athens, Pheneus, Colonus, Troezen, Sparta, Asea, and other places.

[52] Svoronos (*loc. cit.*, vol. i, pp. νϛ′ ff.) places the commencement of this issue in 311 B. C. A study of certain recent Egyptian hoards (for instance, the Abu Hommos Hoard of 1919), and the fact that the writer possesses one of these Athena tetradrachms of Ptolemy bearing the mint-mark ΣΙ and the date Χ, which therefore could only have been struck at Sidon during the three or four months in which Ptolemy held this city in 312 B. C., show that the issue must have commenced a few years earlier than the date suggested by Svoronos.

[53] Among others, Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vol. ii, p. 107; Mionnet, *Description. &c.*, vol. i, p. 552, nos. 557 ff.; Head, *Historia Numorum*[2], p. 230; Macdonald, *Hunter Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 338, nos. 16–18; Imhoof-Blumer, *Rev. Suisse de Num.*, vol. xiv, pp. 154 ff.

[54] *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix, 1909, p. 272. Postolaka, Κατάλογος τῶν Ἀρχαίων

to represent Demetrius himself. In this he is undoubtedly correct. The short hair, seldom even visible beneath the helmet (see **Plate XVII, no. 9**), certainly would seem to indicate the head as being that of a male. The features, too, are rather too rugged to be those of a female. This difference is well brought out on **Plate II** where two specimens of our bronze coin (there **nos. 9 and 10**) are placed in close proximity to two (**nos. 7 and 8**) of the contemporaneous gold staters, whose obverse type is beyond question that of Athena. Looking closely at **no. 10** we can even go a step farther. The features here bear more than a hint of a likeness to those of Demetrius himself, as we shall come to know them on later coin issues of other mints. That this likeness cannot be accidental but was actually intentional, is made certain by the presence of the bull's horn on the helmet (see **Plate II, nos. 9 and 10**; **Plate IV, nos. 4 and 8**). As the bull's horn was never an attribute of Athena, but appears on every known coin portrait of Demetrius, our head must therefore be intended for an idealized representation of Demetrius himself. As a human document, however, it cannot compare with the head found on certain contemporary drachms and hemidrachms of the Ephesian mint which we shall have occasion to study in Chapter VII.

The reader will remember that the group of coins bearing the Nike type have been assigned to the period after 300 B. C. It might, at first glance, seem forced to crowd into the space of but five or six years (300–294 B. C.) the comparatively large issues of coin represented by nos. 14–24. That these particular issues really were heavy, as compared with the preceding ones, may be gauged by the fact that in the production of the silver tetradrachms alone no less than twenty-two obverse dies (XI–XXXII) and forty-six reverse dies (*17–62*) have actually been employed. For the preceding five years only ten obverse dies and sixteen reverse dies had been used to produce the tetradrachms. Furthermore, it is only varieties 18, 22, and 23 which show an unusually large number of dies, and these, by their position in the series, must have come towards the end of the issue—that is, after about the year 299–298 B. C. Of these three varieties we possess no less than seventeen obverse and thirty-

Νομισμάτων, p. 264, no. 1617 *α*′, also believes this to be possibly the head of Demetrius, but only in the present case. Otherwise he considers the helmeted head to be that of Athena.

seven reverse dies, or a larger total than is possessed by all the remaining eleven varieties taken together. In view of this fact should the proposed dates be altered? The writer thinks not. He believes that for the following reasons we ought actually to expect an abnormally large issue of coin at Salamis in the years 298–294 B. C. Previous to the year 301–300 B. C. Salamis was but one of many mints coining for the Antigonid empire. With the disaster at Ipsus, Demetrius, at one blow, found himself deprived of all the principal mints working for his father Antigonus. But none the less did Demetrius need money, and plenty of it, not only to support his floating empire but also to sustain the loyalty and courage of his few remaining dependants. Where was this money to be struck now? Such cities as he still held, on the fringes of Asia Minor and Phoenicia, were in constant danger from Lysimachus, Seleucus, or Ptolemy. His scattered holdings in Hellas and the Peloponnesus were ever exposed to local rebellion or the threats of Cassander. To issue the large amounts of money, now so imperative, Demetrius required a large mint, one more or less conveniently located, but at the same time one which could be easily protected from the many dangers threatening him on all sides. For his purposes Salamis on the island of Cyprus was ideally situated. Of all his remaining possessions it seemed the most secure. He was still the unchallenged master of the surrounding seas. Its harbour still remained his principal naval base, while the city itself boasted a mint of long standing. Little wonder, then, that Salamis now became Demetrius' most active mint and remained so until the sudden recapture of the island by Ptolemy in 294 B. C. But this is by no means all. It will be remembered that some time in the course of the year 299–298 B. C., Demetrius with his fleet was skirting the coasts of Asia Minor escorting his daughter Stratonice eastward to her contemplated marriage with Seleucus. As Demetrius was passing Cilicia (since Ipsus in the hands of Pleistarchus, Cassander's brother) he seized the welcome opportunity, landed an expedition, and secured what remained of the famous treasure of Kyinda.[55] According to Plutarch this treasure still amounted to some twelve hundred talents in

[55] Plutarch's *Demetrius*, xxxii. 1.

precious metals. From Cilicia he proceeded to Rhossus in north Syria to meet Seleucus. Once arrived at Rhossus, Salamis lay only across the water from him. We may well picture Demetrius, if he had not already done so, hastily dispatching the ships carrying the precious bullion seized at Kyinda to the eminently safe harbour of Salamis. As already stated, that city possessed not only the nearest active mint of Demetrius but was also his strongest and most available fortress. It is, therefore, practically certain that the captured bullion would have been at the earliest possible moment transported to that stronghold for safe keeping and also minting. The gold coins, nos. 19 and 21, and the silver tetradrachms nos. 18, 22, 23, 24, we have every reason to believe, therefore, must have been struck from the Kyinda bullion.

IV

PHOENICIA

Mint: Tyre.

Across the waters from Salamis, and considerably to the southwards, lay the powerful fortress of Tyre. Near by was also the great commercial centre of Sidon. Both of these cities had stood loyally by Demetrius in the hour of his need after Ipsus, and Ptolemy had been unable to secure them. Together with Cyprus they formed the mainstays of Demetrius' empire in the east.

We have elsewhere[1] learned that the Sidonian mint had been closed by Antigonus in the year 305 B.C. It was not reopened until the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[2] Tyre, on the other hand, became a mint of considerable importance during the last years of Antigonus and the earlier years of his son's reign. All of these Antigonid issues for Tyre have been catalogued and sufficiently discussed in a recent study[3] by the present writer. For all details the reader is referred to that work. Here it will suffice to enumerate only those coins which actually bear the name of Demetrius, and to give a very brief sketch of the immediately preceding issues.

Antigonus reopened a mint in Tyre in 306 B.C.,[4] after its long period of inactivity following the capture of the city by Alexander in the month of July, 332 B.C. The first series, lasting from *circa* 306 to the battle of Ipsus 301 B.C., contains five varieties of the gold stater, seven of the silver tetradrachm, and one drachm. The coins bear only magistrate's monograms, except in one instance where we have the club, more indicative of Tyre, appearing in the field. Of the second series, *circa* 301–290 B.C., five varieties of the stater and nine of the tetradrachm have come down to us. The club symbol is now of more frequent occurrence, and in one instance (here **Plate III, 6**)

[1] E. T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, Yale Oriental Series, vol. ii, 1916, p. 37.

[2] Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, nos. 712–21.

[3] *Tyrus Rediviva*, American Numismatic Society, 1923.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2, 8 ff.

appears in conjunction with a dolphin, an animal frequently found on Tyrian coinages of earlier as well as of later dates. The style and technique exhibited by the coins of Series II steadily grows worse. The inscriptions on this series invariably read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

On Series III the name of Demetrius occurs for the first time at Tyre. The issue ran from about 290 B.C. to the defection of Demetrius' admiral Philocles and the surrender of the city to Ptolemy in 287 B.C.[5] The following are the seven known varieties of this series:

Series III. *Circa* 290–287 B.C.

25. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Herakles in lion skin head-dress to r. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus seated to l. on high-backed throne. He holds an eagle in his outstretched r. and rests his l. on a sceptre. In l. field, CLUB and E.

XXXIII.—*63 a*. Newell, ↓, gr. 16·95, **Plate III, 7.**

26. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. The type is the same as on the preceding. In l. field, CLUB and E.

XXXIII.—*63 b*. Paris, 1335, ↑, gr. 16·85, **Plate III, 8.** (This coin is from the same obverse and reverse dies as no. 25. The reverse die has been re-engraved in ancient times so as to read ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ instead of ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.)

64. London, ↑, gr. 17·11, **Plate III, 9.**

27. TETRADRACHM.

Same obverse die as the preceding.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, over CLUB.

XXXIII.—*65*. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↓, gr. 16·69, **Plate III, 10.**

28. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ƧΩƎΛΙƧΑΒ (*sic* !) in the exergue. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, CLUB IN CIRCLE. Beneath throne, .

XXXIII.—*66*. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·72, **Plate XVII, 26.**

[5] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

29. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, CLUB IN CIRCLE. Beneath throne, .

XXXIII.—*67*. Kaftanzoglou Coll., **Plate III, 11.**

XXXIV.—*68*. B. Yakountchikoff Coll.,[6] gr. 16·92; Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↓, gr. 17·00, **Plate III, 12.**

30. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) in the exergue. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, CLUB IN CIRCLE. Beneath throne, .

XXXIV.—*69*. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·86, **Plate III, 13.**

31. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, DOLPHIN IN CIRCLE. Beneath throne, A.

XXXIV.—*70*. Newell, ↓, gr. 16·70, **Plate III, 14.**

Concordance between the present enumeration and that of the same coins and their dies in the author's *Tyrus Rediviva*:

Present Work.			*Tyrus Rediviva.*		
No.	Obverse die.	Reverse die.	No.	Obverse die.	Reverse die.
25	XXXIII	*63a*	= 28	XI	*37a.*
26	„	*63b*	= 29	„	*37b.*
„	„	*64*	= „	„	*38.*
27	„	*65*	= 30	„	*39.*
28	„	*66*	= Not represented.		
29	„	*67*	= 31	„	*40.*
„	XXXIV	*68*	= „	XII	*41.*
30	„	*69*	= 32	„	*42.*
31	„	*70*	= 33	„	*43.*

On every one of these specimens the CLUB or the DOLPHIN is used as a mint mark, in addition to the varying monograms of the mint officials. The attribution of the coins to Tyre, as brought out in the above-mentioned study, can therefore hardly be questioned.

[6] Published in the catalogue of rarities from his collection, St. Petersburg, 1908, Plate II, no. 28.

The Paris specimen of no. 26 is most interesting. Although struck from the same pair of dies as the preceding no. 25, it yet bears the name of Demetrius instead of that of Alexander. A close inspection reveals the fact that the old inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ has been partially erased from the die and the new inscription ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ engraved in its place. Traces of the letters ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ are still plainly visible where the new name does not quite obliterate the old. The whole affair has all the appearances of very hasty workmanship. Those in charge of the Tyrian mint at that time evidently did not care to cease operations, pending the cutting of a new reverse die, but continued at top speed with the old die slightly altered. In the meanwhile a new reverse die was being cut, and the British Museum specimen of no. 26 is the result. The old obverse die (XXXIII), however, was still usable—though obviously in a very bad state of repair—and appears not only with this newly cut reverse die but also in the production of yet three more coins, nos. 27, 28, and 29. Following these there is apparently time for the further issue of but two varieties (nos. 30 and 31) before the fortress of Tyre, together with its mint, goes over to Ptolemy I.

Reviewing these Tyrian issues of Demetrius it is curious to note that, throughout, only Alexandrine types are employed. Not a single specimen, bearing Demetrius' own types and attributable to the mint of Tyre, is known to the writer. Whether this curious fact is merely due to chance, or whether the ancient Tyrian mint authorities were influenced by commercial considerations or by some other reason not apparent to us, remains uncertain. The actual appearance of the coins themselves would seem to reveal a certain growing demoralization in the mint. The ever increasing inability of the die-cutters and the clumsiness of the workmen seem to suggest that the issue was brought out in great haste and in troublous times. It seems to reflect clearly the precarious situation of the city during the final years of Demetrius' reign. For he was now no longer master of the eastern Mediterranean, and Tyre was hemmed in on all sides by his enemies, its commerce undoubtedly cut off on both sea and land.

V

CILICIA

Mint : Tarsus.

Circa 298–295 B. C.

32. Tetradrachm. (Müller, no. 1598.)

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin head-dress. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on high-backed throne. He holds eagle in outstretched r. and rests l. on sceptre. In l. field, Φ. The whole in dotted circle.

XXXV.—*71.* Newell (ex Philipsen Coll., Hirsch, XXV, 1909, no. 519), ↓, gr. 17·13; Dresden, gr. 17·17; Paris, 1015, ↓, gr. 17·08; Naville Sale, V, June 1923, no. 1441, gr. 16·93; Cambridge, Leake Coll., ↑, gr. 17·11; Newell, ↓, gr. 17·06, **Plate IV, 1**; London, ↓, gr. 17·11; Egger Sale, XL, no. 739, gr. 17·08; London, ↓, gr. 16·93.

XXXVI.—*72.* Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ↘, gr. 16·93; London, ↖, gr. 17·11; Cambridge, McClean Coll., ↑, gr. 17·16, **Plate IV, 2**; Sir H. Weber, ↑, gr. 17·11; Hollscheck Coll., gr. 16·96; S. H. Chapman, Coll.; Commerce, 1922, ↑; Another in commerce, 1922, ↖; Newell, ↑, gr. 17·01.

73. Hollscheck Coll., gr. 17·06; Berlin, Löbbecke, ↖, gr. 17·14.

33. Stater.

Head of Athena to r. with formal curls and wearing triple-crested, serpent-adorned, Corinthian helmet.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike to l., holding wreath in outstretched r. and *stylis* in l. To l., Φ. To r., ΑΡ.

H.—*n.* Egger Sale, XL, no. 764, gr. 8·56, **Plate IV, 3**.

34. Bronze (Half).

Youthful male head (Demetrius?) to r. wearing Corinthian helmet adorned with bull's horn. The whole is surrounded by a plain circle.

B A above prow to r. Behind, *aplustre* upright. In the exergue, ΑΡ Α. The whole is surrounded by a plain circle.

a. Newell, ↑, gr. 2·04, **Plate IV, 4**.
β. Newell, ↑, gr. 2·05.
γ. Mr. Nathan, ↖, gr. 1·41.
δ. London, Jelajian, ↓, gr. 1·85.
ε. „ „ ↓, gr. 1·73.
F. Munich, ↖.

35. STATER.

Same obverse die as no. 33. | Similar to no. 33. To l., Ⓐ. To r., I.

H.—*o*. Kaftanzoglou Coll., ↓; Newell, ↓, gr. 8·57, **Plate IV, 5.**

36. TETRADRACHM.

Winged Nike with *salpinx* and *stylis* on prow to l., the whole surrounded by a dotted circle. | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Fighting Poseidon to l. as on no. 24. In l. field, Ⓐ. In r. field, ⌶. The whole is surrounded by a dotted circle.

XXXVII.—*74*. Hague, ↑, gr. 16·90; Newell, ↑, gr. 16·88, **Plate IV, 6.**

75. London, ↓, gr. 17·03.

37. STATER.

Similar to no. 35. | Similar to no. 35. On l., Ⓐ. On r., X.

J.—*p*. M. Jameson (= Egger Sale, XLI, no. 434), ↓, gr. 8·54, **Plate IV, 7.**

There exists a curious little category of staters apparently belonging to (or copied after) this issue. As the coins are not entirely above suspicion they have not been included in the main body of our catalogue. If not quite modern they must be barbarous imitations of no. 37. The specimens known to the writer are the following:

1. London, ↓, gr. 8·57 (from the Grand-Duke Alexander Michailovitch Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 1924, Plate i, 8), **Plate XVIII, 15.**
2. Another, from the same pair of dies. *Ancient Coins* (in Bulgarian), by N. A. Michmoff, Sophia, 1912, Plate lix, 9.
3. Another, from the same pair of dies. Cast in the author's collection.
4. From another pair of dies. Sotheby, April 21, 1909, no. 38, gr. 8·59, Plate i.
5. From the same (?) obverse die as the preceding. *Num. Zeitschr.*, xlvi, 1913, Plate vi.

38. TETRADRACHM.

Probably similar to no. 36. | Similar to no. 36. In field to l., Ⓐ. In field to r., X.

?—*76*. Constantinople, gr. 16·90. (Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, vol. xi, part i, no. 88.) It has proved impossible to secure a cast or photograph of this coin.

39. BRONZE (Unit).

Laureate head of Poseidon to r. Countermarked with an eight-pointed star. | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r. Athena Promachus to r. holding shield and wielding spear. In field to r., A|. In field to l., X.

a. Newell, ↑, gr. 7·61, **Plate XVII, 27,**.

40. BRONZE (Half).

Similar to no. 34. Similar to no. 34. In the exergue, A| X.

a. Newell, ↖, gr. 2·14, **Plate IV, 8.**
β. Newell, ↓, gr. 2·39.
γ. Newell, ↖, gr. 1·92.
δ. Paris, 1366, ↖, gr. 1·76.
ε. London, from van Lennep, ↑, gr. 1·39.
ϝ. Athens, ←, gr. 1·82.
ζ[1]. S. de Ricci, ↑.
η. S. de Ricci, ↓.
θ. S. de Ricci, ↑.
ι. Berlin, ↘, gr. 1·95.
κ. Munich, gr. 1·85.
λ. Berlin, ↓, gr. 1·65.

41. BRONZE (Third or Quarter).

Similar to no. 39. Similar to no. 39.

a. Athens (Postolaka, *Κατάλογος τῶν Ἀρχαίων Νομισμάτων*, p. 264, no. 1619), ↑, gr. 1·36, **Plate IV, 10.**

42. DRACHM.

Similar to no. 36. Similar to no. 36. In field l., A|. In field r., A.

a. Paris, 1346, ↑, gr. 3·95.
β. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↑, gr. 4·12, **Plate IV, 12.**
γ. London, ↑, gr. 3·98, **Plate IV, 11.**

43. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field to l., A. In field to r., Ⓐ.

a. Newell, ↓, gr. 1·95, **Plate IV, 13.**

44. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, A. In r. field, Ⓐ.

(*a*) Newell, ↑, gr. 4·01; (*β*) Newell, ↓, gr. 4·06; (*γ*) Berlin, ↑, gr. 4·04; (*δ*) Berlin, Fox, ↑, gr. 4·07, **Plate IV, 14**; (*ε*) Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 4·15; (*ϝ*) Paris, 1344, ↑, gr. 4·06; (*ζ*) Paris, 1347, ↑, gr. 4·05; (*η*) London, ↑, gr. 4·11; (*θ*) London, ↑, gr. 4·10; (*ι*) London, ↑, gr. 4·11; (*κ*) Cambridge, McClean, ↓, gr. 4·04; (*λ*) Turin, Mus. Arch., ↓, gr. 3·91; (*μ*) Turin, Royal Coll., ↓, gr. 4·05; (*ν*) Athens, ↑, gr. 4·15; (*ξ*) Munich, ↖; (*ο*) Hague, ↓, gr. 3·75 (holed); (*π*) Leningrad, Hermitage; (*ρ*) Glasgow, Hunter, no. 13, ↑, gr. 4·11;

[1] *ζ*, *η*, and *θ* formed part of a parcel of some three hundred coins from the J. Kok Sale, Paris, Jan. 1924, lot 100. This lot contained no less than seventy-five coins of Tarsus, while the remainder were nearly all of other Cilician mints. M. Kok is said to have obtained these coins during his service in Cilicia immediately after the Great War. The present writer is very grateful to M. de Ricci for this timely and interesting information.

(σ) Sir H. Weber, ↑, gr. 4·24; (τ) Hirsch Sale, XXIX, no. 285, gr. 4·20; (υ) S. P. Noe, ↑, gr. 4·10; (φ) M. Empedocles, ↑, gr. 4·25; (χ) Naville, I, Pozzi Coll., no. 957, gr. 4·10.

45. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

(a) Newell, ↖, gr. 1·91; (β) Newell, ↑, gr. 1·95; (γ) Newell, ↙, gr. 2·03; (δ) Newell, ↖, gr. 1·99; (ε) Berlin, Löbbecke, ↖, gr. 1·97; (*F*) Berlin, ↖, gr. 2·05; (ζ) Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↖, gr. 2·13, **Plate IV, 15**; (η) Berlin, Fox, ↖, gr. 1·91; (θ) Paris, 1348, ↖, gr. 2·10; (ι) London, ↖, gr. 2·05; (κ) London, ↖, gr. 2·05; (λ) London, ↖, gr. 2·05; (μ) London, ↑, gr. 1·88; (ν) Munich, ↖; (ξ) Turin, Royal Coll., ↖, gr. 2·05; (ο) Milan, ↖; (π) Cambridge, McClean, ↖, gr. 2·02; (ρ) Cambridge, Leake, ↖, gr. 2·00; (σ) Gotha; (τ–φ) Leningrad, Hermitage; (χ) Glasgow, Hunter, no. 14, ↖, 2·09; (ψ) Glasgow, Hunter, no. 15, gr. 2·08; (ω) Hirsch, XIII, no. 1161, gr. 2·10; (αα) Sotheby, Benson Sale, no. 434, gr. 2·03; (ββ) Ratto Sale, 1912, no. 647, gr. 2·08; (γγ) Bourgey, Dec. 1907, no. 36; (δδ) Naville, 1922, no. 470, gr. 2·10; (εε) Helbing, Zietsche and Köder, 1913, no. 323, gr. 2·00; (*FF*) Sir H. Weber, ←, gr. 1·94; (ζζ) M. Empedocles, ↑, gr. 2·03; (ηη) Naville, I, Pozzi Coll., no. 958, gr. 2·09.

46. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field to l., KI. In field to r., Ⓝ.

(a) London, ↓, gr. 3·99, **Plate IV, 16.**

The coins just described form a compact group obviously representing the issues of a single mint. The entire group is characterized by the monogram Ⓐ, or, on the smaller coins, its simplified forms AI, ⍋, and Ⓐ.[2] That these latter are really less complicated representations of Ⓐ may be easily recognized by comparing no. 34 with no. 33, nos. 39, 40, and 41 with nos. 37 and 38. In every one of these cases the larger coin bears the complete monogram Ⓐ accompanied by another monogram or letter such as ⍋ or X; while the smaller coin bears the monogram AI likewise accompanied, in each case, either by the monogram ⍋ or the letter X. As for the drachm no. 42 its monogram ⍋ obviously represents the principal

[2] This particular monogram on the hemidrachms is sometimes still further simplified into Ⓝ.

element of Ⓐ. Furthermore, this drachm is closely connected with nos. 43–45 inclusive by the letter A which appears on each and every specimen. Although this letter A does not occur on any of the staters or tetradrachms, nevertheless the hemidrachm no. 43 definitely connects the larger with the smaller coins. For on this particular hemidrachm the monogram assumes its full form—such as is found on the larger denominations—and not the simplified Ⓐ usually met with on the drachms and hemidrachms. The most convincing proof, however, that we have to do here with the issues of a single mint, lies in the fact that the style and fabric of tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms is identical throughout. Perhaps the only element of uncertainty is whether the final drachm catalogued, namely no. 46, really belongs with the remainder of the group. It varies somewhat in style, but has been added because its monogram Ⓝ is at times found in this exact form on some of the hemidrachms. On the other hand, the accompanying letters KI occur on certain bronze coins (nos. 175–7) which were certainly not struck in Cilicia, though their real mint is still doubtful.

The present series seems to have been inaugurated by an issue of the Alexander tetradrachm. This was followed by an issue composed of Alexandrine staters bearing the name of Demetrius, of the latter's ordinary 'Nike' type tetradrachm with its divisions, and, finally, of bronze coins of various types and in three denominations. The general scheme is not unlike that of the contemporary issues of Salamis. In the present case, however, we find very large issues of the drachm and the hemidrachm, which, together with the two extra denominations in bronze, seem to be entirely lacking at Salamis.

The die positions for nos. 32–46 are much more irregular than we have found to be the case with the coins of Salamis. There can be no question but that the dies were loose, as can best be seen by a glance at the catalogue of the various known specimens of the Alexander tetradrachm no. 32. For the twenty specimens enumerated only two obverse and three reverse dies were used, yet there are no less than five different die positions recorded. It is equally apparent, though, that throughout the issues now under discussion an attempt was made to keep obverse and reverse die in the general relative position ↑ or ↓. As this scheme was not carried out with any great

precision, we find our coins usually exhibiting one or another of the following die positions: ↑, ↖, ↘, ↓.

Speaking broadly, our 'Nike' tetradrachms and their divisions are in style not unlike the issues of Salamis, while the Alexandrine staters and tetradrachm (nos. 32, 33, 35, and 37) are strikingly similar in style and fabric to others of this type struck in the regions south or east of Cilicia. For instance, no 32 is very close to the tetradrachm of Seleucus I on **Plate XVIII, 4**, which is of a type struck previous to the battle of Corupedion (281 B. C.). As up to that date Seleucus owned mints only to the east of Phrygia and western Cilicia, this fact serves to place our Demetrius' issues also somewhere within those boundaries. That we are not far wrong in this surmise is proved by the usual provenance of the bronze coins nos. 34 and 40. No. 40 *α* came to the writer from Syria, having been purchased from Mr. N. E. Homsy, a native of that country. No. 40 *β* was found in a lot of bronze coins composed solely of Cilician and Syrian issues. No. 40 *f* was presented to the Athens Collection by a M. Spiridonos, together with a bronze coin of Soli (Cilicia), two coins of Tarsus, one of Seleucus II, and an Alexander coin whose place of mintage was either Cilicia or Cyprus. Nos. 40 *ζ*, *η*, and *θ* were obtained (see note 1, p. 50) by M. Seymour de Ricci from a large lot of coins principally composed of Cilician issues. No. 34 *γ*, together with several autonomous bronze coins of Soli, was purchased at Mersina (the ancient Soli) by Mr. E. I. Nathan, United States Consul resident there. Nos. 34 *δ* and *ε* were in the Jelajian collection formed in Cyprus. The origin of the remaining specimens in the author's collection is not definitely known, but in every case their patina and general appearance is that always associated with bronze coins found in Cilicia or Syria. Furthermore, there exists in his collection a bronze coin of Seleucus I (here **Plate IV, 9**), struck, to judge by its style, perhaps at Antioch, possibly even at Tarsus, but in any case south-east of the Taurus Mountains. The blank used for this particular specimen chances to have been an example of no. 34. The prow of the reverse type is easily distinguishable in spite of the later overstriking. The mere fact that this coin was restruck by Seleucus I argues strongly for a general eastern origin of the original coin of Demetrius. As none of Seleucus I's mints were,

until possibly in the very last year of his reign, west of Cilicia, and as probably only coins locally obtainable would have been used for restriking, then we have every reason to believe that nos. 34 and 40 were struck in the East. With them must go the accompanying denominations in silver and gold.

Our group of coins appears, therefore, from all available indications, to have been minted somewhere south of the Taurus Mountains. It ought to be possible to localize them still further, and so to assign them to some definite mint.

In Phoenicia at this time (between 301 and 295 B. C.) only Sidon and Tyre belonged to Demetrius. We know that even previous to the battle of Ipsus, Ptolemy—as one of the allies leagued against Antigonus—had invaded and seized all of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, with the sole exception of the two fortresses of Sidon and Tyre. When, later, he was induced to evacuate this territory by the receipt of false news concerning the outcome of the great battle in Phrygia, he did so—but for a short time only. For when finally informed of the true results of that battle he hastened to reoccupy as much of the abandoned territory as possible. Seleucus, advancing southwards from his side, seized all Syria as well as northern Phoenicia and Coele-Syria. Throughout these events both Sidon and Tyre held loyally to Demetrius. It is therefore evident that they alone remained in a position to strike coins in his name. But Sidon, we have learned,[3] possessed no mint until the reign of Ptolemy II, many years later, and as for Tyre her coinage under Demetrius is now known.[4]

Further north, in the Syrian district, lay Antigoneia on the Orontes. This city Antigonus had founded some seven or eight years previously with the express intention of having it become the future capital of his empire. It is possible that at that time a mint was opened here, but if so no coins of his have as yet been localized. This fact, however, hardly affects us, for we know that Antigoneia, very shortly after Ipsus, fell into the hands of Seleucus, and that he at once proceeded to found, near-by, what later became the great

[3] See above, p. 44.

[4] See nos. 14–33 in the writer's *Tyrus Rediviva*, as well as nos. 25–31 above.

city and metropolis of Antioch. Eusebius[5] gives us this information when he states that Antioch was founded in the twelfth year of Seleucus, that is, in the year 301–300 B. C. Therefore the actual foundation must have taken place immediately after Ipsus. In addition, Plutarch states that after the peace between Demetrius and Seleucus had been ratified, the latter then 'returned to Antioch'. This peace, at the very latest, must have been signed in 299 B. C.[6] At that time, therefore, the entire district must have been definitely in the possession of Seleucus, and there can be no possibility of a supposititious mint at Antigoneia working for Demetrius. The space of time intervening between the battle and the arrival of Seleucus before the walls of Antigoneia was certainly too short to allow the news of Demetrius' escape from the disaster and the consequent continuance of the kingdom in his name, to reach the city, and for this to have been followed by any considerable issue of coins bearing his name.

Cyprus, too, must be considered as eliminated. We have already had occasion to remark upon the fact that apparently Ptolemy had suppressed all local mints, with the exception of Salamis, and that Demetrius seems to have followed the same policy. Now that Salamis is known to have been provided with a rich series of coins bearing the types of Demetrius, we shall have to look elsewhere for the mint which once struck nos. 32–46.

The result seems to be that Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus are definitely eliminated. Clearly, therefore, there remains at our disposal only the province of Cilicia. And to such a conclusion our previous study of the characteristics, style, and usual provenance of the bronze coins under discussion have already pointed in no uncertain manner. Concerning the history of Cilicia and its capital Tarsus at this period we learn that Stratonice, the mother of Demetrius, was residing in that city when the news of Ipsus reached her. She secured all the treasure at her command, and with it escaped to Salamis,[7] which she held for her son until he should have recovered from the effects of that great defeat. The province

[5] p. 116 (ed. Schoene), Sync. 520. 5.

[6] So Niese, vol. i, p. 355, while Droysen, ii. 2, p. 238, places it in 300 B. C.

[7] Diodorus, *Fragmenta*, xxi. 1, 4; Droysen, ii. 2, pp. 233 ff.; Niese I, pp. 352–3, note 4.

of Cilicia, however, was awarded by the successful allies to Pleistarchus, brother of Cassander, who had materially aided the common cause. Pleistarchus appears to have immediately taken over his charge. Not long, however, did it remain in his possession. As early as 299 B.C. (Droysen believes the year to have been 300 B.C.) we hear of Demetrius in his fleet skirting the Cilician coast, and even landing an expedition which managed to seize what was left of the famous 'Treasure of Kyinda', placed in that stronghold after Alexander's demise. Pleistarchus, naturally enough, complained bitterly to Seleucus, his whilom ally. The latter, however, was now far too anxious to secure Demetrius as his son-in-law, and as a probable help against threatened aggressions by former friends, that he not only paid no attention to Pleistarchus' complaints and appeals for aid, but even actually acquiesced in the claim to Cilicia put forward by Demetrius. For it could only have been with Seleucus' tacit if not open approval that Poliorcetes came into possession once more of the rich province of Cilicia, together with its capital and mint at Tarsus. This occurrence must have taken place sometime between 299 and 298 B.C. Demetrius continued to hold the province until about 294 B.C., at which time a new coalition was formed against him. As a result of this, Demetrius lost all of his eastern possessions with the exception of Tyre and Sidon. Very probably the terms of this alliance between Ptolemy and Seleucus[8] called for the seizure of the much-coveted Cyprus by the former, and of the no less desired Cilicia by Seleucus. Certain it is that Cyprus was lost to Demetrius at this juncture, and apparently Cilicia as well.

In contemplating the possible attribution of nos. 32–46 to Tarsus, we must at once recognize the fact that the series would admirably fit the space of about three to four years at our disposal, namely, *circa* 298–294 B.C. Furthermore, the style and fabric of the group also well suits an assignment to that mint. The additional point that our coins were struck from loose or, at least, very carelessly adjusted dies still further strengthens the proposed attribution, because Tarsus, unlike so many other eastern mints, never adopted fixed dies until a very much later time.

[8] Lysimachus was also a party to this coalition, securing western Asia Minor as his share of the spoils.

Now it would be cause for considerable surprise if Demetrius, in the years during which he held this rich and populous province, had not caused money in his name to be struck here. For at least a century and a half Tarsus had enjoyed the possession of a remarkably active mint. This mint, in fact, became of the very first importance so soon as certain Persian satraps (Tiribazus, Pharnabazus, Datames, Mazaeus) had come to realize the exceptionally convenient situation of Tarsus, not only as a base of operations in the course of their frequent campaigns, but also because of the city's close proximity to the rich silver mines of the Taurus mountains.[9] This was also recognized by Alexander, who yet further enlarged its minting facilities and caused to be struck here a very rich series of his coins in gold, silver, and copper. These issues were continued under his successors right down to the time of Demetrius. It would be strange, indeed, if we did not find an issue of the latter's attributable to Tarsus. Such an issue is to be recognized in the group under discussion, which, by style, fabric, and other numismatic evidences is alone, of all his many coinages, assignable to that mint.

Of the larger denominations no. 32 is by far the most common. No less than twenty examples are known to the writer, although he has not been at special pains to secure records of all possible specimens in the various collections. Many additional examples were recently seen in the trays of a certain London dealer, but no record was taken of them. Evidently, then, the issue of this Alexander tetradrachm must have been fairly large as compared with its companion pieces of Demetrius' own types. Apparently, when the latter took over the mint from Pleistarchus, he commenced with a large issue of the ordinary Alexander type, which, for the last thirty-five years, had continued the standard form of coinage issued from the Tarsus mint. It was not until a little later that Demetrius finally introduced the types he had for some time been using as king in Cyprus. On the other hand, the possibility must always be kept in mind that it would be difficult to prove, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, that no. 32 was struck by Demetrius only. It might, for all the inscription and types tell us, have been minted by Pleistarchus. This, however, is unlikely, for we have seen that the officiating

[9] *American Jour. Num.*, vol. lii, 1918, 'Tarsos under Alexander', p. 71, note 4.

magistrate (Φ) continued in office during the succeeding issues of the 'Nike' type. It is probable that Demetrius would have preferred to fill such an important and responsible magistracy with one of his own followers rather than with an appointee of his predecessor's. It, therefore, seems to the writer that we are amply justified in considering no. 32 as certainly one of Demetrius' issues.

The types of the principal bronze denomination (nos. 34 and 40) are borrowed from those of the Cypriote issue no. 20. The presence of the bull's horn on the helmet, as well as the general contours of the profile—so far as they can be distinguished on so small a coin—show that the head was intended to represent a portrait of Demetrius himself. The types of the largest and the smallest denominations (nos. 39 and 41) are here introduced for the first time. The bearded head of the obverse is probably intended to represent Poseidon. Zeus never figured on the coinages of Demetrius except in the cases where the old Alexander types were employed. Poseidon, on the other hand, was certainly his patron god—if we are to judge by the presence of this deity on all the silver coinages of Demetrius.[10] The treatment of the details of hair and beard (see **Plate XVII, 27**) certainly give a suggestion of dankness to the locks, conveying the idea to the beholder that this must be a head of Poseidon rather than of Zeus. The Athena Promachus of the reverses is almost directly copied from the well-known silver issues of Ptolemy. Unlike the Cypriote stater of Demetrius (no. 21) Athena is here seen from the front, just as she appears on the Ptolemaic coinages.

[10] The Athenians actually hailed Demetrius as the son of Poseidon. Comp. Athenaeus vi. 62 and 63.

VI

CARIA

Mint: Miletus.

When the greater portion of his father's empire on the mainland of Asia Minor fell away, immediately after the disastrous day of Ipsus, Demetrius managed, though only by the most strenuous endeavours, to retain his hold for a few years longer on certain of the larger coastal cities.[1] Of these the most important were Ephesus and Miletus. These he held until the utter collapse of his Asiatic dominion in 294 B. C. It is possible, as Tarn[2] supposes, that Miletus remained his even down to 286 B. C.

We have already learned that for some years previous to 294 B. C. tetradrachms of the Nike type had been appearing at such mints as Tarsus and Salamis. But these issues were probably intended for circulation in the more easterly portions of Demetrius' realms, and it is hardly likely that the populous and commercially important cities still belonging to him in western Asia Minor would be left entirely without a coinage of the new type. And, in fact, we actually possess an issue of Demetrius' Nike type, together with the corresponding staters, tetradrachms, and drachms of Alexandrine types, which can only be attributed to Miletus.

In establishing the assignment to Miletus of coins bearing both Demetrius' and Alexander's types, it will be necessary to step slightly beyond the rather narrow limits previously set for the scope of our study. **Plate V, nos. 2 and 3** reproduce two tetradrachms from about the first quarter of the third century B. C. whose attribution to Miletus is beyond all question. This fact was recognized by Müller, among others, who places **no. 3** (his no. 1054) among Alexander's coins

[1] Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 12; Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iv, p. 2781.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 99, 105 note 33, 106 note 34.

assigned to that city. These coins display in their left field not only the recognized *parasemon* of Miletus—the prowling lion turning his head to gaze at an eight-pointed star above his back—but also the usual city monogram ⋔. Throughout the fourth, third, and second centuries B. C. lion, star, and monogram constitute the invariable reverse type of the autonomous issues of Miletus. There can be no doubt whatsoever, therefore, that our two Alexander tetradrachms were struck in that city. In addition to the city's symbol we also have a magistrate's symbol, the thunderbolt, appearing beneath the Zeus throne on **no. 2**, and between the god's sceptre and the inscription on **no. 3**. In addition, there exists an accompanying stater (now in the Hermitage collection), which is illustrated **Plate V, no. 1**. On this coin, probably because of lack of space, the lion and star are absent, but both the monogram ⋔ and the thunderbolt are present, the latter in an unusual position beneath Nike's feet. It is obvious that these gold and silver coins (**Plate V, nos. 1–3**) belong to one and the same issue. Immediately preceding these coins there had been another issue of similar staters and tetradrachms, also with Alexander types. A specimen of the gold coin is reproduced on **Plate IV, no. 22**, while **Plate IV, no. 23** shows the accompanying tetradrachm. It will be noticed that the usual monogram ⋔ of Miletus appears on these pieces, thus clearly indicating their place of origin. Even though the lion and star symbol is missing, there can be no doubt but that they were issued from the same mint as **nos. 1–3** of **Plate V**. The style, fabric, and technique of both the gold and the silver coins are absolutely identical throughout.

This brings us back to the actual issues of Demetrius for Miletus.

47. STATER. (Müller, no. 1137.)

Head of Athena to r. in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent. The goddess wears ear-ring and necklace.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged Nike standing to l. holding wreath in her outstretched r. and palm branch in l. In l. field, BIPENNIS and ⋔.

K.—*q*. Leningrad, Hermitage, no. 236, ↑; Newell, ↑, gr. 8·51, **Plate IV, 17.**

L.—*r*. Athens, ↑, **Plate IV, 18.**

s. Newell, ↑, gr. 8·34 (the edge has been slightly filed).

48. TETRADRACHM. (Müller, no. 1138.)

Head of youthful Heracles to r. in lion's skin head-dress. Circle of dots around.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned to l. holding eagle in his outstretched r. and resting l. on sceptre. Beneath throne, BIPENNIS. In l. field, Ⓐ.

XXXVIII.—77. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑; Berlin, no. 890/1901, ↑, **Plate IV, 19.**

49. DRACHM. (Müller, nos. 1139–1140.)

Similar to the preceding.

α. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↑, gr. 4·27.
β. „ Löbbecke, ↑.
γ. „ Prokesch-Osten, ↑, gr. 4·186.
δ. „ „ „ ↑, gr. 4·03.
ε. „ v. Rauch, ↑.
F. „ no. 18090, ↑.
ζ. Oxford, Ashmolean.
η. Cambridge, McClean.
θ. „ Leake.
ι. Washington, National Coll.

Similar to the preceding.

κ. Paris, no. 840, ↓.
λ. Newell, ↑, gr. 4·19, **Plate IV, 20.**
μ. Newell, ↑, gr. 4·18.
ν. „ ↑, gr. 4·03.

50. TETRADRACHM.

Winged Nike, holding trumpet in r. and *stylis* in l. alighting upon a ship's prow to l. The whole in a dotted circle.

ΔΙΙΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Poseidon, entirely nude, striding to l., brandishing trident in r. and stretching forward the l. arm wrapped in his mantle. In l. field, Ⓐ; in r. field, BIPENNIS.

XXXIX.—*78*. Berlin, Fox, ↑, gr. 16·54, **Plate IV, 21.**

The Alexandrine coins nos. 47–49 may be looked upon as being regal issues, as on them the city's monogram ⋔ no longer appears, its place being taken by the personal symbol and monogram of the officiating magistrate. That these coins are the immediate predecessors of those illustrated on **Plate IV, nos. 22–23** and **Plate V, nos. 1–3,** and struck in the same mint, Miletus, is certain from the fact that the stater no. 47 is struck from the *same obverse die* as **Plate IV, 22.** The style, fabric, and certain peculiarities of design all clearly attest the common origin of these coins. In the case of the staters, note the

peculiar double coil to the serpent on Athena's helmet, as well as the curious presence of a palm branch, instead of the more usual *stylis*, in Nike's hand. Their issue precedes that of **Plate IV, 22** as the obverse die L, common to both, shows the least wear on no. 47. That the issue of these coins of Alexandrine types really took place during the reign of Demetrius is shown by no. 50, a tetradrachm of his Nike-Poseidon type which bears the same symbol and monogram. All the coins are struck from adjusted dies, the position ↑↑ being the general rule.

The entire issue must have been of considerable duration to give us so many specimens of the drachm. These coins are exceedingly common, the writer not attempting to record all examples he has met with. They are to be found in practically every large collection. A possible accompanying issue of bronze coins may, perhaps, be recognized in nos. 162–9, chapter XIV.

The issue of nos. 47–50 probably covered the years from 300 to 294 B. C. Much longer than this they could not have lasted, unless many varieties are still unknown to us. That Demetrius lost Miletus in 294 B. C. is possible but not certain. Tarn supposes that Miletus, as well as Caunus, remained in the possession of Demetrius even after 294 B. C. and right away down to the final dissolution of his empire in 286 B. C. In that case it is interesting to observe that at least one of Demetrius' royal prerogatives had in the meanwhile ceased and that the coining of money had been taken over by the city itself. For the monograms of Demetrius' appointees vanish from the immediately succeeding coinage (Müller, nos. 1033, 1054 ff.), their place being taken by the monogram and the *parasemon* of the city of Miletus. This fact would seem to suggest that during the troublous times of the year 294 B. C. the city, while possibly still recognizing Demetrius as its suzerain, nevertheless had assumed the coveted privilege of coining money. On the other hand, this right may have been voluntarily conceded by Demetrius himself as one of the means by which he hoped to retain the city's allegiance at a time when so many of his other Asiatic possessions were rapidly falling into the hands of his rivals. Miletus after 294 would then have occupied, numismatically speaking, very much the same position as Athens or Corinth. These cities, while most certainly ruled by

Demetrius, were none the less allowed to strike their own money, no coins bearing Demetrius' personal types being known to have been issued from their mints. Probably for commercial reasons Miletus chose to adopt the old Alexandrine types, rather than strictly autonomous types, for the staters and silver tetradrachms. Some of the smaller silver denominations with purely local types and described in the British Museum Catalogue, *Ionia*, pp. 191–2, nos. 80–90 may have commenced to appear at this time.

VII

IONIA

Mint: Ephesus.

Circa 301–295 B. C.

51. Tetradrachm.

Winged Nike, holding a trumpet in her r., alighting upon a ship's prow to l. The whole in a circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Poseidon, entirely nude, striding to l. brandishing a trident with r. and stretching forward his l. arm wrapped in his mantle. In l. field, 𐤁𐤑; in r. field, Star of Sixteen Points.

XL.—*79.* Paris, 1337, ↗, gr. 16·96, **Plate V, 4.**
XLI.—*79.* Hirsch Sale, XXXII, no. 466, gr. 16·80, Plate xvii.
80. Feuardent, Coll. D. et G., 1924, no. 81 (= Rosenberg, Helferich-Eisenach, March 1914, no. 88), **Plate V, 5.**
XLII.—*81.* Sandeman, Sotheby, 1911, no. 130, gr. 17·08, Plate iii. (= Subhi Pacha Sale, 1878, no. 143); London, ↑, gr. 16·52, **Plate V, 6.**
XLIII.—*82.* Glasgow, Hunter, no. 1, ↗, gr. 17·05, **Plate V, 7.**
83. Newell, ↗, gr. 16·86.
XLIV.—*84.* Empedocles, ↗, gr. 16·77, **Plate V, 8.**
XLV.—*85.* Dresden, ↗, gr. 17·045, **Plate V, 9.**
XLVI.—*86.* Athens, ↑, gr. 17·17, **Plate V, 10.**
XLVII.—*87.* Munich, ↑, gr. 17·05, **Plate V, 11.**
XLVIII.—*88.* Cambridge, Leake, ↑, gr. 16·87.
89. Berlin, Fox (ex Whittal 1851), ↑, gr. 17·02, **Plate V, 12.**
XLIX.—*90.* Naples, no. 6671, ↑, gr. 16·97, **Plate V, 13.**

52. Tetradrachm.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Same symbol and monogram. Beneath the Star, A.

L.—*91.* Hague, ↑, gr. 16·95.
92. Paris, 1341, ↑, gr. 17·10, **Plate V, 14.**
93. Paris, de Luynes, 1690, ↑, gr. 17·05.

LI.—*94*. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·51.
95. Bourgey, Coll. H.M., 1909, no. 123.
96. Gotha.
LII.—*97*. London, ↑, gr. 16.89, **Plate V, 15.**
LIII.—*98*. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 16·39, **Plate VI, 1.**

53. HEMIDRACHM.

Head of Demetrius to r. adorned with diadem and bull's horn. Circle of dots around.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., below, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Similar type to the preceding. In l. field, ⊠P.

α. Berlin, ↑, gr. 2·09, **Plate VI, 2.**

54. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. On r., IVY LEAF (point downwards).

α. Copenhagen, gr. 4·20, **Plate VI, 3.**
β. M. Empedocles, ↗, gr. 4·10.
γ. Newell, ↑, gr. 4·25 (ex Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1924, no. 58 a, Plate ii).
α and *β* are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies.

55. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. On l. ⊠P; on r., IVY LEAF (point downwards).

α. M. Jameson, ↖, **Plate VI, 4.**
β. Vienna, ↗, gr. 3·97.
γ. Cambridge, McClean, ↖, gr. 4·22.
δ. Athens, Sophiko Hoard, no. 773 (too much damaged for the dies to be distinguishable), ↖.
α, *β*, *γ* are from the same obverse die; *α* and *β* are from the same reverse die.

56. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. IVY LEAF (point downwards) over ⊠P on r.

α. London, ↑, gr. 1·81, **Plate IV, 5.**
β. „ ←, gr. 2·03.
γ. „ ←, gr. 2·05.
δ. Paris, 1363, , gr. 2·00.
ε. Turin, Royal Coll. 19958, ↖, gr. 1·90 (holed).

57. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., ⊠P, on r., IVY LEAF (point upwards).

α. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 4·07, **Plate VI, 6.**
β. „ Prokesch-Osten, ↑, gr. 4·08.
γ. „ Imhoof-Blumer, ↑, gr. 3·99.
δ. Naville, I, Pozzi, no. 967, Plate xxxi, gr. 4·04.

α, *β*, *γ* are from different obverse and reverse dies, while *δ* is from the same obverse die as *β* and from the same reverse die as *α*.

58. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding.

α. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 2·02, **Plate VI, 7.**
β. London, ↓, gr. 2·00.
γ. Athens, ↑, gr. 2·03.

α and *β* are from the same obverse die; *α*, *β*, *γ* from the same reverse die.

59. TETRADRACHM.

Head of youthful Heracles to r.	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned to l. holding eagle in outstretched r. and resting l. on sceptre. Beneath throne, ⊠P; on l., IVY LEAF.

LIV.—*99*. Munich, ↑, gr. 17·20.
100. H. A. Greene, **Plate VI, 8.**

THE association of the above three groups (Nike tetradrachms, Alexandrine tetradrachm, and the small denominations with portrait), while not yet susceptible of absolute proof, seems at least to be highly probable. Important is the fact that the monogram ⊠P is found on all. Now a similar monogram has already been noticed on some of the Salaminian issues (nos. 11, 12, 15, 24). But to Salamis the present group can in no way be assigned as there is a complete divergence in style and fabric between the two series. Certainly the Alexandrine tetradrachm no. 59 does not possess a single Cypriote characteristic. In both style and fabric it clearly belongs to the contemporaneous issues of western Asia Minor. In fact, in many respects it is very similar to the Alexandrine tetradrachm of Miletus reproduced on **Plate IV, no. 19** and could not have been struck very far away either in point of time or place.

This tetradrachm of Alexandrine types is closely allied with the drachms and hemidrachms nos. 53–58 by the presence of the IVY

Leaf symbol as well as the monogram ⊠. These smaller denominations, again, seem certainly to be closely associated with the Nike tetradrachms nos. 51 and 52 by the monogram common to all, and especially by the style and details of the fighting Poseidon figure on their respective reverses. Note, for instance, the comparatively small head on the Poseidon of the earliest tetradrachms (**Plate V, nos. 4–8**) and a similar peculiarity shown by the earliest specimens of the drachm and the hemidrachm (**Plate VI, nos. 2–4**). On the later tetradrachms (**Plate V, nos. 12–14**), and also on the drachms (**Plate VI, 6**) and hemidrachms (**Plate VI, 7**), the head is distinctly large and in better proportion to the body. Another peculiarity noticeable on the early tetradrachms (especially **Plate V, nos. 6–8**) is the backward tilt of the upper portion of Poseidon's body. This same peculiarity is equally conspicuous on the earliest accompanying hemidrachm (**Plate VI, 2**). On the later issues of the tetradrachm, as also on the fractions which go with them, Poseidon's body is once more rigidly erect. These and many other little mannerisms betray the handiwork of the same artists for both the large and the small denominations. The coins must therefore all have been struck in one and the same mint.

All the coins of our present group are further linked together by the constant relative position between their obverse and reverse dies. This position for the greater number is ↑↑. Only in a very few instances does the reverse die lean slightly to the right or left of the true perpendicular.[1] In this, too, there is an obvious departure from the custom followed at Salamis where we have found the reverse die position to be almost invariably ↖ or ↗; or at Tyre where ↑ or ↓ predominate; or at Tarsus where the die positions show remarkable though perfectly regular variations such as, ↖, ↗, ↙, or ↘. Thus, from another angle, the point seems to be established that nos. 51–9 cannot very well belong to the issues of any one of the three mints just mentioned. On the other hand, in die position as well as style and fabric, our coins more nearly resemble the issues assigned in the last chapter to Miletus.

[1] In two instances among the hemidrachms do we find the reverse die in the position ← which appears to be exceptional. As usual, considerably less care seems to have been exercised in adjusting the dies of these small denominations than those of the larger denominations.

Just as we have seen that the clues offered by the die-positions lead us away from the Syrian end of the Mediterranean, so the fact that the dies of our coins have certainly been fixed or adjusted before striking practically forbids us to assign them to any mint of European Greece. For previous to about 290 B.C. this practice of adjusting dies seems not to have been adopted west or north of the Aegean Sea.[2] Therefore, as the mints situated both in the extreme western and the extreme eastern portion of Demetrius' dominions are closed to us, we must fall back on the only portion of his realms still open to us, namely south-western Asia Minor. And to the coinages of this very district it has already been pointed out that the style and fabric of the Alexandrine tetradrachm (no. 59) in particular would lead us.

That it could only have been an important mint at which our coins were struck follows from the fact that their issues were originally comparatively large. The fourteen obverse (XL–LIII) and twenty (*79–98*) reverse dies so far recorded for the Nike tetradrachms, nos. 51 and 52, hardly tell the whole story. For these dies are divided among only twenty-two actual specimens, and it is therefore practically certain that the future must bring forth dies as yet unknown to the writer. Now it is noticeable that no coins have as yet been assigned by us to the most important city held by Demetrius in Asia Minor, namely to Ephesus. The tentative assignment to that mint of nos. 51–9 might well be suggested here. Definite proof, however, we have none, beyond the negative fact that there exist no other issues of Demetrius which could be given to that city, coupled with the significant fact that style, fabric, and die-positions all point to the general district of which Ephesus was at this time both the leading and the most populous city. Important is the point that otherwise Ephesus would be entirely without any coinage of Demetrius, though from 300 to 294 B.C.[3] it constituted the centre and principal bulwark of his dominions in Asia Minor. That it was of very vital importance to him may be learned from the strenuous efforts he made to retain his hold on it in 301–300 B.C.[4] That the city should have

[2] Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea appear to be the sole exceptions to this rule. See Chapter XIV.

[3] Hünerwadel, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachus*, p. 68, believes that he may have held Ephesus even down to 286 B.C.

[4] Polyaen. iv. 7. 4.

been entirely without a coinage of his during the five years in which he held it is almost unthinkable. On the other hand, it may possibly be objected that Demetrius may never, after all, have struck coins here bearing his own types but that, throughout, he allowed the city to retain its immemorial right of autonomous coinage untouched.

It will be remembered that Head, in his illuminating article on the Ephesian coinage,[5] assigned the long series of Ephesian staters of Rhodian weight to the years 394–300 B.C., and the Attic octobols of similar types to the period 300–295 B.C. In discussing his arrangement he says: 'Presuming the office[6] to be an annual one, it seems almost certain that this series must have terminated after the defeat of Antigonus and Demetrius at Ipsus in 301'. Unfortunately, in a later article, appearing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1881, he apparently was induced to extend the time during which these staters were struck to the year 295 B.C. This change was due to the fact that between the publication of his two papers many new names (appearing on the coins in question), had been brought to his notice and so conflicted with his theory that these names must be those of annual magistrates. The revised dating was also adopted in the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of Ionia, and was later followed by Babelon in his *Traité*, ii[2]. Since the appearance of Head's first study so many new names have been discovered[7] that it is evident Head's theory becomes untenable—as he himself admits in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, pp. 14–15.

This being the case, it would be preferable to return to his first arrangement, which was the more reasonable one in view of the events then taking place in Asia Minor and the resulting changed conditions. In other words, the series of Ephesian staters (tetradrachms) of Rhodian weight probably came to an end shortly after Ipsus, being succeeded by an issue of Attic octobols or Persian sigli[8] bearing the same types. It would have indeed been strange if Demetrius had permitted the continued coinage of these Rhodian

[5] *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Ephesus*, London, 1880, reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xx, 1880.

[6] That is, of the magistrate whose name appears upon each coin.

[7] Head, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., vol. i, 1881, pp. 13–23; Newell, 'Some Rare or Unpublished Greek Coins' in the *Amer. Jour. of Num*, vol. xlviii; Babelon, *Traité*, ii[2], pp. 1101–6.

[8] See G. F. Hill, *Num. Chron.*, 1922, p. 169, and J. G. Milne, *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 19 ff.

tetradrachms when once he held the city firmly in his grasp. They but strengthened the hold which the Rhodian weight system was gradually acquiring in commerce at this time, greatly to the pecuniary advantage, be it noted, of his old adversaries the Rhodians and their ally, Ptolemy. Demetrius' own weight system was the Attic, and it would be only natural that he would do everything in his power to protect and further it. The old immemorial rights of local coinage were not really interfered with; the city continued to strike coins bearing the accustomed types. But these coins were of the old Persian weight. Nevertheless, they would pass current both as thirds of Demetrius' own tetradrachms and as trihemidrachms of the Rhodian system—a simple arrangement probably satisfactory to all parties concerned.

In addition to these octobols or Persian drachms (sigli), which were in reality merely subsidiary denominations and probably circulated but little outside of the city's territories,[9] the writer believes that nos. 51–9 were also struck in Ephesus at this time. They were not, however, guaranteed by local magistrates, but by royal appointees. Neither the symbols Star nor Ivy Leaf, nor a name corresponding to the monogram ⊠ appear on any of the contemporaneous Ephesian issues. The coins themselves may actually, none the less, have been struck in the local Ephesian mint. It is both interesting and important to note that the almost invariable die-position of these Ephesian staters is none other than ↑↑.[10] Our Demetrius issues, as we have taken pains to emphasize above, are distinguished from among their brothers by this very same manner in which the obverse die is placed in relation to the reverse. Under the succeeding reign of Lysimachus, Head has shown[11] that the Ephesian mint issued a series of coins identical in character with that apparently obtaining under Demetrius. The principal denominations now were tetradrachms and drachms bearing royal types[12] associated with Attic octobols (Rhodian trihemi-

[9] These Attic octobols are to-day comparatively rare, only a few specimens of each variety being known.

[10] Of the twelve specimens in the author's collection all have the die-position ↑↑. Of the two octobols in the same collection one is ↑↑, the other is ↑↑.

[11] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 124–9.

[12] In addition there were also gold staters. Possibly the corresponding gold staters of Demetrius for Ephesus have not come down to us.

drachms or Persian drachms) bearing local types. This parallelism is interesting and goes far, in the writer's mind at least, to establish the attribution to Ephesus of nos. 51–9.

Quite apart from the possibility of their having been struck in Ephesus, our present group is particularly interesting because of the splendid portrait of Demetrius which appears on the drachms. This is the first instance we have so far encountered of a portrait of real iconographic value appearing on his coins. The helmeted head on the Salaminian and Tarsian bronzes, in this respect, need hardly be taken into account. There the features are so purely conventional that they have only recently[13] been recognized as representing Demetrius rather than Athena. Demetrius is apparently now growing bolder, the delineation of his features becoming nearer the human and appearing on the silver drachms instead of on the more humble bronze.

Fortunately for us it was a very able artist indeed who was commissioned to cut these dies. He presents us with a miniature but most lifelike representation of Demetrius the Besieger. His subject appears still in the prime of life and without that careworn aspect and the deep lines which a life of restless energy and reckless dissipation had so marred in a later portrait we possess from a Macedonian mint (see **Plate VII, nos. 5-7**). The beauty for which Demetrius was famed is very evident on our coins, though as is so often the case in numismatic portraits both ancient and modern,[14] there is probably a slight idealization of the features. This is more evident on the drachms nos. 54–5 (**Plate VI, nos. 3-4**). Here the features are somewhat more regular, and so have lost much of their strongly marked individuality. As a work of art, however, this coin is truly admirable. We may indeed consider it a fortunate chance that a mint in Asia Minor should have given us a portrait of the great Demetrius. For in this very portion of the Greek world there had occurred the earliest attempts in all the ancient world at placing true [15] portraits upon coins. We have the remarkable series of heads on certain electrum staters

[13] C. T. Seltman, *Num. Chron.*, ix, 1909, p. 272.

[14] With the possible exception of Roman portraits, which are so seldom flattering to the subject.

[15] As against merely conventional portraits, such, for instance, as appear on the Persian darics and sigli.

of Cyzicus,[16] the splendid portrait of Pharnabazus on a silver tetradrachm of the same mint,[17] the heads of Spithridates and other Persian dignitaries on various issues of Mysia and Ionia,[18] the noble head on a silver stater of Colophon,[19] the lifelike portraits of several dynasts in Lycia,[20] as well as numerous other instances. With such a tradition to draw on, together with the high artistic abilities prevalent throughout this region, no wonder that our die cutter has been able to produce so pleasing as well as so convincing a masterpiece. In point of fact, the art displayed on these drachms and hemidrachms of Demetrius is typically Ionic in its delicacy and refinement. Their style is strikingly similar to that of the Ephesian coinage at this very period (compare them with the silver issues of Ephesus as shown in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1880, Plate VII, nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11), and this would seem to constitute yet another proof of the correctness of their assignment to the Ephesian mint.

The bull's horn, emblem of power and divinity and indicative of the supposed divine character of the kingship which he, like his rivals, laid claim to, appears above Demetrius' brow. Eckhel[21] believes that in assuming the bull's horns Demetrius was consciously imitating Dionysus, the deity whom he, according to Plutarch,[22] particularly sought to emulate. Eckhel's opinion seems to have been generally adopted by later writers. It should, however, be pointed out that, curiously enough, none of Demetrius' many coinages furnish any other indication[23] of his Dionysiac leanings. On the other hand it is Poseidon, *par excellence*, who is honoured in every possible manner on his coins. Now Farnell[24] has taken particular pains to point out, again and again, the peculiarly close association of the bull with the worship of Poseidon. Hesiod (*Scut.* 104) actually calls Poseidon the

[16] *Nomisma*, vii, 1912, Plate VI, nos. 9, 10, 11.

[17] Babelon, *Traite*, ii[2], Plate CLXXVIII, no. 15.

[18] *Ibid.*, Plate LXXXVIII, nos. 4–24.

[19] *Ibid.*, Plate LXXXVIII, no. 25.

[20] *Ibid.*, Plate XCIX, nos. 2–12, Plate CI nos. 3–9.

[21] *Doctrina Numorum*, ii, p. 122. [22] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, ii. 3.

[23] The IVY LEAF appearing on nos. 54–9 is merely a magistrate's symbol, like the STAR on the preceding nos. 51 and 52.

[24] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iv, pp. 14, 25, and especially 26, 33, 43, 47, 56–7, 95. To be noted also is the close association of the bull with Poseidon on the coins of Poseidonia, and of Sybaris.

'bull-god', ταύρεος. Therefore, entirely apart from the general suggestion of divine power which the presence of the bull's horn conveys, there may also have been intended, because of this relationship between the bull and Poseidon, a further suggestion of the deity to whom Demetrius owed his power and dominion. Thus we may recognize another bond, very clearly indicated, between the king's portrait on the obverse and the fighting Poseidon on the reverse of our coins. The most important point of all, however, is the fact that Demetrius seems to have given himself out as a son of Poseidon. At least Athenaeus [25] tells us that the Athenians actually hailed him son of Poseidon, and in the famous ithyphallos sung by the Athenians in his honour he is called παῖ Ποσειδῶνος θεοῦ. For this reason perhaps, rather than for any other, it is that the bull's horns appear above his brow. In like manner, Alexander's earliest coin-portraits bear conspicuously enough the ram's horn, so clearly indicative of Zeus Ammon his divine progenitor.

[25] vi, 62 and 63.

VIII

ISSUES OF VARIOUS UNCERTAIN EASTERN MINTS

Before 295 B.C.

60. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. wearing a triple crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a running griffin. Athena's hair is arranged in 'cork-screw' curls.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike standing, holding wreath in outstretched r. and *stylis* in l. On l., ⊕.

M.—*t.* Newell, ex Grand Duke Alexander Michailovitch Coll., ↑, gr. 8·29, **Plate VI, 9.**

61. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin head-dress. Around, circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. Zeus, enthroned to l., holds eagle in outstretched r. and rests his l. on sceptre. Beneath the throne are faint traces of a symbol or monogram.

LV.—*101.* Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, ←, gr. 16·40, **Plate VI, 10.**

62. BRONZE.

Winged Nike on prow to l.

Fighting Poseidon to l. between Β and Α. On l., ΘΕ.

α. Princeton University, **Plate VI, 11.**

β. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, gr. ↓, 1·86.

63. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., similar to that on no. 61 but of different style.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned to l. as on no. 61, but of different style. On l., RAM'S HEAD.

LVI.—*102.* Saroglou, **Plate VI, 12.**

64. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in two lines on l. Types as on the preceding coin. On l., RAM'S HEAD.

LVI.—*103*. Sir Charles Oman, ↑, gr. 16·33, **Plate VI, 13.**

EACH of the above varieties is as yet represented by but a single specimen. A definite attribution is therefore impossible, as these few examples furnish us with little or no clue to their original mints. In general it may be said that their style and fabric point to the East as their place of origin.

The stater no. 60 is closely modelled on earlier Alexandrine issues of Babylon, even down to the griffin ornament on Athena's helmet. This is the only instance we have in which this fabulous monster appears on Demetrius' gold coins. Like the tetradrachm no. 26 of the Tyrian mint, this stater, too, is evidence of the troublous times in which it made its appearance, and a typical example of the expedients which the mint-masters of Demetrius were sometimes forced to adopt. A close examination of the coin soon reveals the interesting fact that on the original reverse die the name ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ has at one time been re-engraved over something that had preceded it. In all probability it was the name of Alexander which was erased in favour of that of Demetrius. Unlike the parallel case of the above-mentioned Tyrian tetradrachm (nos. 25 and 26), however, no specimen of the original coin issue—in Alexander's name—has as yet come down to us. The work of the later engraver has been done much better on the stater than on the tetradrachm, for no actual traces of the original letters are to-day visible. But the whole appearance of the surrounding surface, the style of the letters themselves, the different level of the name ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, &c. all proclaim what had taken place on the die in ancient times.

The tetradrachm no. 61 is also distinctly eastern in style, resembling other Alexandrine coinages from mints lying to the east of Cilicia and the Syrian coastal districts. The coin must have been struck at some mint under their direct influence, but just where, it is impossible for the moment to say. Certainly the mint could not have long been in Demetrius' possession, but probably fell to Seleucus shortly after the battle of Ipsus. More than this we cannot say until

a better specimen is found, which might offer us some clue in the monogram. For there seem to be faint traces of a monogram, possibly surrounded by a wreath, beneath Zeus' throne.

The two tetradrachms nos. 63 and 64 obviously belong to a single mint, as their obverses are from the same die. To suggest a plausible mint-place for these specimens would also not be warranted at this time. If, however, the ram's head symbol is to be looked upon as something in the nature of some city's especial mint-mark, the name of Clazomenae would at once suggest itself. On the other hand the style and appearance of the coins is very different from that of the contemporaneous Alexandrine issues of neighbouring mints of the Ionian coast, such as Ephesus (**Plate VI, 8**) or Miletus (**Plate IV, 19**). In fact, the style displayed by our coins is very reminiscent of certain Alexander coinages struck at about this period in various mints of the Hellespontine district. As the types used are still those of Alexander, it is probable that our coins appeared during the early years of Demetrius' own reign, for it was only at Tyre that this type was retained throughout his rule. Now we know[1] that between 301 and 300 B.C. Demetrius was assembling his fleet in the Thracian Chersonese and carrying on war against Lysimachus. It might well be surmised, therefore, that our two coins were struck at this time in some one of the many mints situated on or not far from the Propontis. We have every reason to believe[2] that, in this very region, the important city and seaport of Abydus remained loyal to Demetrius during the trying times both before and after the fatal day of Ipsus. Diodorous xx. 107. 2–3 states that Lysimachus actually besieged the city, but without success. Demetrius relieved the city by sea, and Lysimachus withdrew his forces eastwards. Abydus might therefore have been the mint of nos. 63 and 64.

[1] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xxxi. 2.

[2] Hünerwadel, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachos*, pp. 44, 53.

IX

WESTERN MACEDONIA

Mint: Pella

Having completed the study of Demetrius' coinages for the easternmost portions of his empire, we should now, logically, take up the study of such coinages as were struck in the west during the corresponding period of his reign. Unfortunately, however, the writer knows of no coins or group of coins which can safely be assigned to any western mint of Demetrius for the period from 301 to 294 B.C. Either Demetrius relied entirely upon his mints in Ephesus, Miletus, Tarsus, Salamis, and Tyre to supply currency for all his realms, or, what is perhaps more likely, his western mints continued to coin money bearing only the accustomed Alexander types and name—or exactly the practice followed at Tyre down to about 290 B.C. This latter hypothesis appears to the writer to be by far the more probable one. As, however, these western 'Alexanders' bore no symbol or inscription especially indicative of Demetrius' authority they fall outside the limits set for the present study.

We will therefore proceed at once to a discussion of his Macedonian issues covering the final half of his reign. This will have the further important advantage that, having accomplished this study, we shall find the bulk of Demetrius' coinages will then have been got out of the way. The remaining varieties are comparatively few in number, and can thereafter be handled with greater ease and clearness.

For a better understanding of the situation, a brief account is desirable of the drift of events which led up to the rather sudden acquisition of Macedonia by Demetrius. After consummating the important peace with Seleucus, strengthening his hold on Cyprus

and southern Phoenicia, and securing the important province of Cilicia, Demetrius made haste to return to Hellas. Here he arrived late in 296 B.C. The next two years were spent in constant warfare to widen or to strengthen his dominions. In the meanwhile an event of outstanding importance to his fortunes and future plans had occurred. This was the death in 298 B.C. of his great enemy Cassander, king of all Macedonia, of Thessaly, and of Central Greece down to the very gates of Athens. The death of this able, ruthless, and ambitious ruler removed a great obstacle from Demetrius' path towards a new empire to replace the one lost at Ipsus. Demetrius must indeed have breathed anew when the news of Cassander's death reached him. Perhaps the possible acquisition of Macedonia at once occurred to his mind, but if so he moved carefully.

Cassander left behind him three sons, of whom the elder died four short months after his father. The kingdom then devolved upon the two remaining sons, both mutually antagonistic and equally incapable. Demetrius seized every opportunity to play the one off against the other, and eventually succeeded in his game. The end would probably have come sooner had it not been for the fact that others too, Pyrrhus of Epirus and Lysimachus of Thrace, were equally well aware of the possibilities, and were watching for a favourable opportunity to intervene. Finally, in 294 B.C., the younger of the two sons, Alexander by name, called upon both Pyrrhus and Demetrius to assist him against his brother Antipater, who no doubt was supported, or at least subsidized, by Lysimachus. Demetrius made haste to seize this welcome opportunity, but before he could disengage himself from the affairs in the Peloponnese, in which he had in the meanwhile become embroiled, Pyrrhus had thrown himself into Macedonia and driven out Antipater into the arms of Lysimachus. Pyrrhus then returned to his own kingdom, leaving Alexander to repent bitterly of ever having called upon Demetrius to aid him. For the latter now arrived in Macedonia with his forces, though all real need for him was long since past. After the interchange of various empty courtesies and a continual sparring for position, Demetrius finally made as if to return to Greece. The rejoicing Alexander followed him to escort him safely out of the country. A final banquet was given by Demetrius at Lamia in

Thessaly. Here Demetrius learned of the contemplated treachery on the part of Alexander, and, determining to be beforehand in such a game, he caused him to be assassinated together with his friends and followers.

Macedonia now lay completely open to Demetrius. The Macedonian army and people, tired of Cassander and his brood, and ever mindful of what he had done toward the destruction of the house of their great Alexander, quickly fell victims to Demetrius' fame and the irresistible power of his personality. They at once welcomed him with open arms. In the autumn of 294 B. C., therefore, Demetrius found himself ruler in Pella and the master of a kingdom which stretched from the mountains of Epirus on the west to the Rhodope range and the commencement of Lysimachus' realms on the east. This particular territory, as is well known, contained rich gold- and silver-mines and at least two great and active mints, Pella and Amphipolis.

These two mints had of late been particularly busy. Under Philip II, Alexander the Great, Philip III, and Cassander they had been in constant operation, and their issues among the largest of all Greek regal coinages. It will not be surprising, therefore, to learn that Demetrius made immediate and extensive use of them. Taking advantage of the still unexhausted deposits of gold and silver near by, he proceeded to supply himself with the necessary means for carrying out his grandiose plans. The immediately succeeding years were passed in campaigns to strengthen his hold on Hellas, in conjuring possible dangers, such as the uncertain attitude of Pyrrhus, and the constant enmity of Lysimachus, in attempts to suppress the recalcitrant Aetolians, and in pacifying the rebellious Boeotians. The final years of his reign in Macedonia were marked by feverish activities in preparing a powerful army and in constructing an imposing navy with the avowed intention of reconquering the provinces now held by his rivals. As these various campaigns and preparations must have called for an immense outlay of money, there is little wonder that the series of coins now issued from the mints at Pella and Amphipolis prove to have been by far the largest of all of Demetrius' many issues. We will commence with the study of the coins struck at the capital, Pella.

Series I. *Circa* 294–293 B.C.

65. STATER.

Head of Athena, with formal curls, to r. She wears a crested Corinthian helmet adorned with the serpent ornament.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. Winged Nike standing, holding a wreath in her outstretched r. and a *stylis* of trident form in her l. On l., 𐤕.

N.—*u.* Leningrad, Hermitage (= E. Pridik, 'The Find of Gold Staters at Anadol', *Bulletin de la Commission impériale archéologique*, 1902, p. 87, Plate XII, 1) gr. 8·58; Paris, 1332, gr. 8·59, **Plate VI, 14.**

66. TETRADRACHM.

Winged Nike on prow to l. She holds a trumpet in her r. and a *stylis* in her l. The whole in a circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Poseidon, entirely nude, striding to l. He brandishes a trident in his r. and stretches out his l. which is wrapped in his mantle. On l., 𐤕.

LVII.—*104.* Copenhagen, gr. 16·49, **Plate VI, 15.**

67. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with, in addition, a DOLPHIN on the r.

LVII.—*105.* Newell, gr. 16·90; Paris, 1336, gr. 17·00, **Plate VI, 16.**

106. Munich, gr. 16·87.

LVIII.—*107.* Newell (= Bourgey, Rous Coll., no. 105), gr. 16·89, **Plate VI, 17.**

68. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with DOLPHIN and STAR on r.

LVII.[1]—*108.* Leningrad, Hermitage; London, gr. 16·96, **Plate VI, 18.**

109. Bourgey, Sale of May 1910, no. 76, Plate ii (= Bourgey, Bougerol Coll., 1909, no. 214).

110. Vienna, gr. 16·54.

The style and fabric displayed by the coins of this group differ radically from anything we have so far encountered on the issues of Demetrius. We know at once that we must find ourselves in quite another district of his wide dominions. And, in fact, the peculiar

[1] This die has now become very much damaged.

style of the stater no. 65 actually presupposes a Macedonian origin for the entire group of which it is a member.

It is to be noticed that in the present case, as at Miletus, Tarsus, and Salamis, we again find the now customary association of staters bearing Alexandrine types with tetradrachms bearing Demetrius' own Nike-Poseidon types. Apparently he was loath to make too radical a change in the gold coinage, the reasons probably being commercial as much as political. We have seen that his first attempt (no. 21 above) to introduce his own types on the gold coins had evidently not been a very great success, to judge from the small issue of which only two specimens have come down to us.

For us it is a very fortunate fact that Demetrius continued to employ the same types on his various coinages. Only in this way are we enabled to appreciate clearly the very great divergencies which actually exist in both style and fabric between the present group and those we have already studied. All the characteristics of the latter are as typically 'eastern' as those of nos. 65 ff. are typically 'western'. Of special importance is the fact that now, for the first time in our study, we meet with coins struck from loose dies and some which were not even adjusted before striking. This had always been the accustomed practice in the Macedonian region, as it was of the remainder of Hellas itself.

Series II. *Circa* 293–292 B. C.

69. STATER.

Similar to no. 65. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike as on no. 65. Beneath her r. wing, Α|Ν.

N.—*v.* Naville, V, June 1923, no. 1457, gr. 8·53, **Plate VI, 19.**

70. TETRADRACHM.

Nike to l. on prow similar to no. 68. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Poseidon in fighting attitude to l. The style and details exactly reproduce those of nos. 67 and 68. In field to r., Α|Ν.

LIX.—*III.* Naville, X, no. 447 (= Naville, VI, Bement Coll., no. 777 = Bourgey, Rousset Coll., 1908, no. 115 = Sotheby, Delbeke Coll., 1907, no. 95), gr. 16·91, **Plate VI, 20.**

71. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. differing in style from that found on no. 69.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike similar to no. 69. On l., 𐤀, on r., 𐤔.

O.—*w.* Athens, gr. 8·58, **Plate VII, 1.**

72. TETRADRACHM.

Winged Nike to l. on prow as on the preceding issues, but of slightly better style.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Fighting Poseidon as on the preceding issues. In field to l., Δ, to r., 𐤀.

LX.—*112.* In commerce, **Plate VII, 2.**

LXI.—*113.* Newell, gr. 16·91, **Plate VII, 3.**

73. TETRADRACHM.

Similar in every way to the preceding.

Exactly similar to the preceding. In r. field, 𐤔. In l. field, 𐤀.

LXII.—*114.* Published by Yakountchikoff in the catalogue of unpublished coins in his collection (in Russian), Petrograd, 1908, Plate II, no. 30, gr. 16·co.

115. Leningrad, Hermitage, **Plate VII, 4.**

Although an entirely new college of magistrates is here found functioning, the fact that this group of coins is but the continuation of Series I is proved by no. 69. For the obverse of this coin is struck from the same die as that of no. 65 of the preceding issue. Furthermore, by carefully comparing the general style as well as the details of the tetradrachm no. 70 with those found on nos. 67 and 68 we shall necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the dies for all three coins must have been prepared by one and the same die-cutter. The latter, however, was soon replaced by another and better artist who cut the dies for nos. 71, 72, and 73, the principal magistrate (signing himself 𐤀) still remaining in charge of the entire coinage.

At first 𐤀 is alone responsible for this coinage, but is later joined by Δ (= 𐤔), and together they sign the remainder of the issue. It is particularly interesting to record the presence of the monogram 𐤀 on these coins. The suggestion at once occurs that perhaps this magistrate may have been the same official whom we have previously found functioning at Tarsus. There his usual signature was ⊕, which form, however, comprises 𐤀 as the main element placed within a circle. But on one drachm (42) of that

series he appears in the form ⍋, exactly as we find it here on our Macedonian issues. The great divergence in style and fabric between the two groups of coins forces the conclusion that they must have been struck in different mints. Now Tarsus is known to have fallen prey to Seleucus' ambitions about 294 B.C. These Pella issues were not later than 292–291 B.C., and certainly not earlier than the last months of 294 B.C., when Demetrius first secured Macedonia. There would have been ample time for our magistrate ⍋ to have effected his departure from Tarsus just before or just after the acquisition of that city by Seleucus, to have joined Demetrius in Greece, and later, as a reward for his loyalty, to have been placed in charge of the very important mint at Pella. All of which, to be sure, remains a mere conjecture, but a conjecture enjoying a certain amount of probability and one that adds yet another touch of human interest to Demetrius' coinages.

This series, too, is characterized by the presence of loose dies. Its Macedonian origin is still further attested by the comparatively large accompanying issue of gold staters, marking a notable difference between this and all the previous issues we have studied.

Series III. *Circa* 292–291 B.C.

74. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Demetrius to r. adorned with a bull's horn. The whole is surrounded by a dotted circle.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Poseidon, naked to waist, seated to l. upon a rock. In his outstretched r. he holds an *aplustre*, the l. he rests upon a lotus-tipped sceptre. To r., outside the inscription, ⍋; on the rock, ⍋.

LXIII.—*116*. London, gr. 16·57; Newell (= Hirsch Sale, XXXII, 1912, no. 465), gr. 16·89, **Plate VII, 5.**

75. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Exactly similar to the preceding except that Poseidon rests his l. upon a trident.

LXIII.—*117*. Paris, 1359, gr. 16·60; Munich, worn; Berlin, Fox, gr. 16·35; Berlin, gr. 16·89; Athens, gr. 16·86, **Plate VII, 6.**

118. A. Hess, Berlin Dups., 1906, no. 347, Plate ii, gr. 16·35.

119. Vienna, gr. 17·20.

120. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 12, gr. 16·78; London, gr. 16·82, **Plate VII, 7.**

121. Newell, gr. 17·28 (= Hirsch, XXV, Philipsen Coll., no. 541, Plate vii = Sotheby, Tobin Bush Coll., no. 103, ex Gen. Moore and Huber Colls.).

76. TETRADRACHM.

The portrait is much younger than that on the preceding coins.

Exactly similar to the preceding.

LXIV.—*118.* Newell (= Jameson Coll., no. 1007 = Feuardent Sale, Dec. 1921, no. 87), gr. 16·42, **Plate VII, 8.**

While the magistrates ⚓ and ⚓ were still in office the types of Demetrius' coinages were completely changed. On the obverse there now appears a most striking portrait, well executed and remarkably life-like. The heavy locks are bound by the royal diadem, while a large bull's horn curves forward from just above the ear. The artist employed to cut these dies knew Demetrius in the flesh. With the consummate skill at portraiture of his age he gives us a likeness of his royal master which is the more acceptable to us in view of what follows later. Though lacking the brutal frankness of Roman portraiture there is none the less no flattery observable here. The features are delineated with directness and truthfulness, accompanied by a certain subtlety of line, a delicacy of contour and plane which succeeds in reproducing for us not only the fleshly likeness but also the indomitable spirit within. It is observable even in the older head of die LXIII, certainly in the younger head of die LXIV, that there still remain some traces of the beauty for which Demetrius in his younger days was famed. But now time, and especially the life he has led, only too plainly show their devastating effects. On die LXIII we see before us a disillusioned and weary man, aged before his time. In fact, were it not for the coin that follows, one might almost be persuaded to recognize here the possible portrait of the father, old Antigonus One-eye.[2] It must, however, be a portrait of Demetrius himself, now grown older and more weather-beaten. The same general features are here represented—the slightly upturned nose, the large firm mouth, the pointed

[2] But we know from Plutarch, *Demetrius*, ii. 2 and xix. 3, that Antigonus was taller and much fleshier than his son. Furthermore he is also supposed to have been rather unprepossessing in features, and was likened to Silenus: see Seneca, *De Ira*, iii.

chin, exactly as they have already appeared on the Ephesian drachms and hemidrachms of a few years before (see nos. 53–8, **Plate VI, 2–7**). At the time that our Macedonian dies were cut, Demetrius, born in 336 B.C., was forty-five to forty-six years of age. Yet looking at nos. 74 and 75 the features there displayed would appear to be those of an elderly man well past fifty, even one in his sixties. Demetrius' life had indeed been one of violent activity. Many strenuous campaigns had he conducted beneath an eastern sun; for months at a time had he commanded his fleets buffeted by wind and weather; for ten long years the cares of an unstable empire and the uncertainties of a most variable fortune had all no doubt contributed their share toward those lines and seams now observable in his features. Added to these, and perhaps of yet greater effect, was the scandalously licentious course of pleasure he pursued at every opportunity. In this he enjoyed an unenviable reputation even for the notoriously loose morals of antiquity. Thus was furnished a combination of causes which certainly in time would have marred even the features of a god.

Whether it was that the obverse die LXIII, with the aged features, did not find favour in the eyes of Demetrius, or whether the artist himself was dissatisfied with the result, the portrait on the succeeding die (LXIV) presents a more youthful appearance. While a rejuvenating effect has been secured by making the eye and mouth less sunken and the cheek fuller, nevertheless the features are not actually idealized. In contour and character it is still obviously the same man as appears in die LXIII.

On the reverse of the new issue is given a fine representation of Poseidon himself. He is no longer fighting as on the previous issues, but majestically seated upon his rocky throne, ruler of the wide seas. Demetrius' long established and unchallenged naval supremacy is thus typified by the enthroned god of the waters in whose left hand we see now the sceptre, now the trident, while his right holds out the *aplustre*, so evidently symbolic of past victories and present dominion.

M. Svoronos [3] has pointedly remarked that ancient writers sometimes, modern numismatists always, confound the *aplustre* with the *acrostolium*. The present writer, in good and numerous company be it

[3] *Journal Internat. d'Arch. Num.*, vol. xvi, 1914, p. 130.

said, must unfortunately plead guilty to this indictment, as he has at times, in following his predecessors, committed this very error. M. Svoronos's illuminating article on the special natures of the *acrostolium* and the *aplustre* or *aphlaston* should make the distinction between the two clear once for all. It is the *aplustre*, the ornament (or semaphore according to M. Svoronos) of the stern, which Poseidon here holds in his right hand as symbolic of naval victories. Apparently this object too, as well as the *acrostolium*, was broken off defeated enemy ships in the hour of victory. As such it is of frequent occurrence on ancient coins. In support of M. Svoronos's explanation of the difference between the two it should be noted that this object, the *aplustre*, on no ancient monument ever appears mounted upon the prow, particularly upon that portion which bore the name of *stolos*, but it does frequently occur upon the stern. It cannot therefore possibly be the *acrostolium* (ἀκροστόλιον, the ornament or point of the στόλος) as so many writers have erroneously named it.

We have noticed that in one case, no 74, Poseidon holds a sceptre and not his usual trident. This is clear from the specimen in the writer's collection (**Plate VII, 5**), where the object in question certainly ends in a lotus bud or flower. This is the typical form of sceptre usually held by Zeus. Perhaps our artist used this particular form on purpose, to suggest that Poseidon, in the person of Demetrius, now ruled the land as well as the sea. All the remaining reverse dies of this issue, five in number (nos. *117–21*), revert to the more usual and appropriate trident. It is quite possible that our engraver, accustomed to cut dies for a coinage of the Alexander type —for the last forty-five years the ordinary coinage of this province— inadvertently placed the sceptre instead of the trident in Poseidon's hand. He immediately rectified his mistake, if mistake it was, and all the succeeding dies show the more orthodox trident.

Our coins, nos. 74–6, are further remarkable in that they present, for the very first time in all the coinages of European Greece, the undeniable portrait of a living man. Lysimachus had already placed the features of the deified Alexander upon his Thracian issues, but they are more or less idealized, portraying as they do one who was now an immortal, and not an actually living man. Philip II had

come nearer to the present case when on the reverses of his first coinage he caused to be placed the figure of the king himself, mounted on horseback and greeting or haranguing his army. M. Babelon [4] has given good reasons to suppose that here an attempt was even made to reproduce a likeness of the king in the minute features of the royal rider. The present case, none the less, remains the first time that a 'full-sized' portrait of a man, actually living, appears upon the Macedonian coinage, or for that matter upon any coinage struck west of the Hellespont. To be sure, the bull's horn would seem to indicate an immortal, or at least a mortal endowed with divine powers. The artist, however, has done nothing to bring a suggestion of divinity [5] into the features. They are simply those of a rather mortal man, the careworn victim of a vacillating fate, disillusioned and weary, yet with a glimmer of fire still discernible and an air of determination to master whatever fate might still have in store for him. This is plainly a step farther than the rather symbolic appearance of the royal Macedonian horseman on Philip's coins.

It is well in keeping with his character that Demetrius should have been the first to dare the introduction of a living portrait on European coinages. For it was this ever growing vanity and love of ostentation, this haughtiness, this *superbitas*, as the Romans would say, which eventually so disgusted the Macedonians that it did much to bring about his eventual downfall.

Series IV. *Circa* 291–290 B. C.

Group A.

77. TETRADRACHM.

Idealized head of young Demetrius to r. adorned with a short bull's horn and the royal diadem. The whole is in a circle of small dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Poseidon standing to l. He places his r. foot upon a rock, his r. arm resting upon his thigh, while his l. hand holds the trident. On l., outside the inscription, ; on r., outside the inscription, .

LXV.—*122*. London, gr. 16·83, **Plate VII, 9.**

[4] E. Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, vol. xii, 1908, pp. 205–6.

[5] This is in sharp contrast with the contemporary issues of Seleucus bearing his helmeted and horned head. On these the features of Seleucus are plainly idealized.

Group B.

78. STATER.

Similar to no. 71. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Winged Nike standing to l. with wreath and *stylis*. On l., beneath the wing, .

P.—*x*. London, gr. 8·58 (= Sotheby, Montagu Coll., 1896, no. 245), **Plate VII, 10**; Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, gr. 8·63.

79. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to no. 77. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Type similar to that on no. 77, and with the same monograms.

LXV.—*123*. Berlin, gr. 17·13.

LXVI.—*124*. Newell, gr. 17·17, **Plate VII, 11**.

80. TETRADRACHM.

Head of the young Demetrius to r., less idealized and with a greater success at real portraiture than on nos. 77 and 79. Similar type and inscription to the preceding. On l., outside the inscription, ; on r., outside the inscription, .

LXVII.—*125*. Newell, gr. 16·76, **Plate VII, 12**.

LXVIII.—*126*. Gotha.

LXIX.—*127*. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, gr. 16·98; Naville V, 1923, no. 1462 (= Jameson Coll., no. 1005, Plate li), gr. 17·13, **Plate VII, 13**.

81. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but without any monograms whatsoever.

LXVII.—*128*. Oxford, Ashmolean, gr. 17·22, **Plate XVIII, 1**.

82. TETRADRACHM.

From the same dies as no. 80. Similar to the preceding, but with only the monogram on the l.

LXVIII.—*129*. Leningrad, Hermitage.

LXIX.—*130*. Newell, gr. 17·22, **Plate VII, 14**.

Series IV, following closely upon Series III, is still supervised by the two magistrates and , although in the final group of this issue a new magistrate, , makes his appearance. The entire series

may be conveniently divided into its two constituent groups by observing the order of the words in the inscription. Hitherto, on all of Demetrius' gold and silver issues, his name has held first place; that is, it appears on the extreme right of the coin type, while the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is either placed below or to the left of the type. Our present coin, no. 77, follows the usual scheme. With no. 78 a definite and indeed permanent change takes place. Henceforth the title is always found on the extreme right, and the name on the extreme left.

It would seem as if in the preceding issue the artist had been only too successful in delineating the features of his king and master. Perhaps the likeness proved a little too true to life and too human to please Demetrius. At any rate, with the issue before us the artist, probably another man, goes to the other extreme and gives us in nos. 77 and 79 a handsome head of approved classic style. But unfortunately it is purely conventional and quite lifeless, and bears not even the slightest resemblance to Demetrius. It is much more (particularly no. 79) of the accepted Alexander type, with straight or slightly aquiline nose and regular features. A brother artist proves more successful with die LXIX. On this coin a very lifelike, if too youthful a portrait of Demetrius appears. The features are indeed identical with those of nos. 74 and 75, but with all the lines and hollows of that realistic portrait removed. Demetrius here is once more as he must have been some twenty years previous, a brilliant, handsome man, full of youth and hope. His eye is bright and no longer sunk within its socket, the cheeks are full and round, every wrinkle has vanished, the mouth no longer droops with that weary and disillusioned expression so noticeable on nos. 74–5. The portrait on dies LXVII and LXVIII is somewhat more mature than that of die LXIX, but nevertheless far more youthful than the old man of Series III (die LXIII).

Yet another change has been made in the Poseidon figure of the reverse. He now takes the pose of a statue evidently famous in antiquity. The type has come down to us in several marble copies and on innumerable coins of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The god is shown resting his foot upon a rock, his left hand grasping the trident, while with his right forearm he supports the weight of the upper portion of his body upon his right thigh, his right hand the

while hanging down somewhat limply. On our coins, the god's head is raised, with a far away yet all embracing glance, as if he were looking forth over his wide and watery domain, its acknowledged ruler. His right foot, planted firmly upon the rock, further proclaims his dominion[6] over both land and sea. Such a type, embodying such ideas, would seem to be appropriate enough to Demetrius' character, to his viewpoint at this time, and to his plans for the immediate future.

Perhaps we have here a copy of Poseidon's statue on the isthmus of Corinth, as suggested by Lange[7] and believed by him to be the work of Lysippus. Corinth, indeed, was one of Demetrius' most prized possessions, and at this very time of particular importance to him. Lange's views, however, have not been universally accepted. Farnell[8] questions their correctness, while Bulle[9] rejects them completely. Svoronos[10] also rejects them and, instead, connects our figure with a group mentioned by Pausanias (i. 24. 3–4) as being on the Acropolis at Athens. This group he believes to be the work of Alcamenes.

Leaving aside any discussion as to the probability of such an assignment, we will turn our attention to a further suggestion made by Svoronos on pp. 317–18 of the same article. There he proposes to see in our coins with the standing Poseidon type an issue of Demetrius at Athens after his capture of that city in 294 B.C. He does not say whether he actually proposes to assign *all* of the coins with this particular type to Athens. Probably Svoronos did not intend to have his words convey any such sweeping meaning. Even a hasty and superficial survey of the coins in question would soon reveal to a competent numismatist—as Svoronos undoubtedly was—the obvious fact that many different mints must have participated in the production of our coins. For it is quite impossible that they could all have been struck in one mint, so varied are their styles, their fabric, and the different forms of technique which they display. Neither will the style and fabric exhibited by the majority of them allow an assignment to a supposititious mint at Athens. Everything proclaims their Macedonian origin. An attribution of any of the remainder to Athens is

[6] Eckhel, *Choix des pierres gravées du Cab. Imper.*, 1788, p. 34, 1.
[7] Lange, *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses*, p. 41.
[8] *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iv, p. 68 and note *a*.
[9] In Roscher's Lexicon, under 'Poseidon', p. 2888.
[10] *Jour. Int. Num.*, vol. xiv, 1912, pp. 288 ff.

also highly questionable, as the present writer will show on pp. 133–4. Now Svoronos would recognize in the figure of Poseidon placing his foot upon the rock a direct allusion to the conquest of Athens by Demetrius and his complete domination of the city—the rock upon which the god's foot rests being actually the Acropolis itself! Such an interpretation of the coin type cannot for an instant be accepted. It is impossible to believe that Demetrius, of all people, would have made such a pointed and even brutal allusion to the capture, even though it were by himself, of his beloved Athens. Throughout, his policy towards the city was ever one of carefully disguising under a sugar-coating the bitter fact of his absolute dominion there. Especially after the great siege and the subsequent fall of Athens in 294 B.C., there is nothing to be found in our historical sources which would suggest a particularly heavy hand having been laid upon the city at this time. After entering the city and causing the populace to be assembled in the theatre, Demetrius—as Plutarch (xxxiv. 4) expressly states [11]—'avoiding all harshness of tone and bitterness of speech, he merely chided them lightly and in a friendly manner, and then declared himself reconciled, gave them besides a hundred thousand bushels of grain, and established the magistrates who were most acceptable to the people'. This is not planting very firmly the heavy foot of Poseidon upon the Acropolis rock! The only precaution taken by Demetrius was to fortify and garrison the Museion. For all his provocations, Demetrius' acts after his entry were of an astonishingly lenient nature towards a city whose loyalty had, on so many occasions, proved so exasperatingly fickle. Where severity might well have been expected, he showed only a desire to win the populace to his side. Their beautiful city seems ever to have been his lodestar. Again and again he forgave her restiveness and repeated revolts. Now such a wanton and unnecessary insult as the portrayal of a triumphant Poseidon with his foot upon the Acropolis—as upon the neck of some wild beast which he had conquered—would never fit with Demetrius' well-known policy towards Athens. The idea to be conveyed by the type which he chose for his coinage in 291–290 B.C., was surely of a more general nature. To his dominion over land and sea, and not to that over Athens and her

[11] Professor Perrin's translation.

Acropolis in particular, does the Poseidon figure with his foot upon a rock allude.

That this coin type was inspired by some famous statue is practically certain, but who the sculptor was, or where the statue stood, must for the present remain an intriguing but an unsolved mystery. The future will no doubt some day throw the desired light upon so interesting a question.

Series V. *Circa* 290–289 B.C.

83. STATER.

Diademed head of Demetrius to r. adorned with bull's horns.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above on the l., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ in the exergue. Macedonian horseman, clad in mantle, *kausia*, and *anaxarides*, mounted on a prancing horse to r. and holding a long spear couched. To l., of the horse, 𐤀; beneath the horse, 𐤓.

Q.—*y*. Jameson Coll., no. 1002, gr. 8·63, Plate lii (= Sotheby, O'Hagan Coll., no. 340); Sotheby, Late Collector Sale, no. 212, gr. 8·55; Naville, VI, Bement Coll., no. 779, gr. 8·61 (= Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2169, Plate 84); Brussels, gr. 8·51, **Plate VII, 15.**

84. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful and idealized head of Demetrius to r. wearing the aegis and royal diadem and adorned with bull's horns. The whole is in a circle of very small dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Poseidon standing to l. holding trident and with r. foot upon a rock. On l., outside the inscription, 𐤓; on r., outside the inscription, 𐤀.

LXX.—*131*. London, gr. 17·19 (= Hirsch, XX, Hoskier Coll., no. 254, Plate x).

132. Berlin, Löbbecke, gr. 17·07, **Plate VII, 16**; Athens, gr. 17·23; Newell, gr. 17·09.

133. Turin, Museo Archeologico, gr. 17·05; Oxford, Ashmolean, gr. 17·00.

134. Munich, worn.

135. London, gr. 17·04.

85. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but of coarser style. The aegis is present only on die LXXIII.

Similar to the preceding, but of coarser style. On l., outside the inscription, 𐤔; on r., outside the inscription, 𐤀.

LXXI.—*136*. London, gr. 17·11, **Plate VII, 17.**

LXXII.—*137*. Ciani, Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., 1925, no. 292, gr. 16·35, Plate 5.

LXXIII.—*138*. Dr. T. Reinach, **Plate XVIII, 2.**

139. Munich, gr. 16·85.

140. London, gr. 16·71 (holed).

86. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Demetrius to r. wearing the aegis and adorned with the bull's horn. The whole is surrounded by a dotted circle.

Similar to the preceding. On l., outside the inscription, 𐤔; on r., outside the inscription, 𐤀.

LXXIV.—*141*. London, gr. 16·64, **Plate VIII 1**; Yakountchikoff Coll. (*loc. cit.*, p. 12, no. 29, Plate ii), gr. 17·12.

In this series a new magistrate, signing himself variously 𐤓𐤊 or 𐤔𐤓, now makes his first appearance alongside of the well-known 𐤀 who still continues in office throughout this issue.

Completely new types for the stater were introduced at this time. On the obverse we find the usual horned and diademed head of Demetrius, but with this difference, that now the tip of the second horn becomes visible for the first time (cf. **Plate VII, nos. 15 and 16**). Hitherto, on our silver tetradrachms, it has only been the horn on the side facing the spectator which was depicted by the artist. The features of Demetrius on the new stater are slightly older than those on the immediately preceding tetradrachms (nos. 80–82), but not so old as on the seated Poseidon type (nos. 74 and 75). In fact the present portrait is about half-way between the two representations, possessing neither the sunken, almost emaciated look of the latter, nor the youthful, at times even chubby appearance of the former (**Plate VII, nos. 13 and 14**). The features now have the look one would expect, in the ordinary course of events, to find in a man of forty-six.

On the reverse of the stater we see a spirited representation of the traditional Macedonian rider in *kausia* and mantle, galloping to r. and holding a long spear couched to overthrow his enemy. Ever since the days of Alexander I, 498–454 B.C., the royal rider, similarly accoutred, had been the favourite type of the Macedonian kings. At first he is represented holding two javelins, his horse sedately walking to the right (Babelon, *Traité*, Plates xlvii and xlviii). By the reign of Archelaus, 413–399 B.C., with the increase of technical ability on the part of the die-cutters, the royal horseman has secured a more restive mount and is now found astride his prancing steed (Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed., p. 220, fig. 131). He still holds the two javelins in his hand. Under Amyntas (2nd reign, 381–369 B.C.) the rider himself becomes more active. He is now represented as being in the midst of a hunting episode. Mounted on a spirited and wildly prancing horse he is raising his right arm to hurl the javelin down upon his quarry—the lion which appears upon the reverse of the same coin. The animal, severely wounded by the accurate aim of the royal huntsman of the obverse, is represented in agony, frantically tearing and biting at the fatal spear which pierces him. Philip II retains the horseman type on his coins, though completely modifying the details. At first the royal horseman, as hereditary leader of the Macedonian people, is seen advancing slowly to the left, his right arm raised in the act of greeting or haranguing the army before him. Now no longer is the figure merely symbolic, but we may probably recognize [12] the rider as actually possessing the features of Philip himself. On only a small group of his bronze coins is the Macedonian rider represented in a fighting attitude, while the remaining ones of this early period show the horseman in *kausia* and mantle again galloping peacefully along. Later Philip completely changed the meaning and character of his types. The royal rider is replaced by the victorious jockey, advancing in triumph to the right, holding the palm branch, his head bound by a fillet, while on some specimens another fillet can be seen hanging from his horse's head-strap. On the accompanying bronze issues the jockey is galloping across the field. These types remained the favourite ones for many years, recurring again on the posthumous tetradrachms and tetrobols

[12] E. Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, vol. xii, 1908, pp. 205–6.

of Philip which were struck in Macedonia down to as late as the commencement of the third century B.C. Alexander the Great, as is well known, at his accession introduced entirely new types on the Macedonian coinage, but Cassander, on his bronze coins, reverts once more to an agonistic type. Now the young jockey is seen crowning his victorious horse. Thus, ever since the early days of Philip, the royal Macedonian horseman had passed out of use—with one ephemeral exception. This one exception is a very rare drachm [13] of the Ecbatana mint representing Seleucus I on horseback furiously charging across the field of the coin—a type distinctly reminiscent of the old Macedonian rider. Not long after his accession to the Macedonian throne Demetrius apparently revived this early type, a type which might almost be said to be peculiar to Macedonia.[14] This fact has been well recognized by Ch. Lenormant as well as by Kaerst who both have assigned [15] without question to Macedonia the gold staters of Demetrius bearing the horseman type. With this attribution we can but agree.

The types of the tetradrachms of Series V remain the same as for the preceding issues. No. 84 gives us a very pleasing portrait of the young Demetrius, of high artistic merit. The artist, while obviously flattering his model and introducing into the features a certain divine and spiritual quality such as had never before been imparted to the portrait of Demetrius, has yet been able to retain the peculiarly personal characteristics of profile and expression. In fact the identity of the one portrayed is at once apparent, and this is rather more than can be said of so many of the portraits of Demetrius. This is perhaps not so much due to the inability of the artists as to the difficulty of the subject himself, for Plutarch expressly says [16]: 'he (Demetrius) had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no

[13] Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeit.*, vol. xxvii, 1895, p. 15, no. 19, Plate II, 13. He assigns the coin, erroneously however, to Babylon.

[14] That is, when the rider is represented with the couched spear and wearing the typical Macedonian kausia and mantle. The royal horseman of Persia is also a favourite type on oriental coins and seals, but is distinguished by the customary Persian tiara and trousers. The Magnesian (Ionia) and Thessalian (Pelinna, Pherae) horsemen are helmeted and in full armour; the horseman of Pharsalus wields the pedum instead of the spear.

[15] Ch. Lenormant, *Num. des rois*, &c., p. 36; Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, *Demetrius*, p. 2786.

[16] *Demetrius*, ii. 2, Professor Perrin's version.

painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him'. The remaining obverse dies of Series V return to the rather banal type of portraiture so common to the issues of Demetrius.

The three obverse dies, LXX, LXXIII, and LXXIV are remarkable in that they represent Demetrius as wearing the aegis. The sudden and ephemeral appearance of this divine attribute may probably be put down to an idiosyncrasy of certain artists in the Pella mint, for nowhere else does it appear on any of Demetrius' many coinages. Being an attribute of Zeus in particular, it would not be peculiarly appropriate to Demetrius who, unlike his contemporary Ptolemy Soter, seems never to have been especially partial to that deity. In the artist's mind, however, now that Demetrius had actually become king in Macedon, the assumption of an attribute of one of the principal and most ancient [17] Macedonian gods, and one that had been particularly favoured by earlier Macedonian kings, would not be inappropriate. And especially would this be the case at Pella, the capital of Macedon and the location of a very ancient temple of Zeus.[18] This fact, furthermore, squares admirably with our proposed assignment of this particular group of coins to the Pella mint.

Series VI. *Circa* 289–Autumn of 288 B.C.

87. STATER.

Same obverse die as used for no. 83.

Same reverse die as used for no. 83, but with the monogram ⅄ erased. Beneath horse, ⅁.

Q.—*y*[2]. London, gr. 8·51, **Plate VIII, 2.**

88. STATER.

Diademed head of Demetrius to r., but of banal style.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ below. Horseman to r. Beneath horse, ⅄.

R.—*z*. London, gr. 8·47.

aa. Naville, V, June 1923, no. 1458, gr. 8·61, **Plate VIII, 3.**

89. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of Demetrius to r. in circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Poseidon standing to l. with trident. He rests his l. foot upon a rock. On l., outside the inscription, ⅄.

[17] Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, pp. 10–11.

[18] Justin, xxiv. 2: *Jovis templum veterrimae Macedonum religionis.*

LXXV.—*142*. London, gr. 17·13, **Plate VIII, 4.**
LXXVI.—*143*. Newell, gr. 16·77, **Plate VIII, 5.**
LXXVII.—*144*. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 6, gr. 17·12, **Plate VIII, 6**; Helbing, Zietsche & Köder, 1913, no. 324, gr. 17·30, Plate v.
LXXVIII.—*145*. Newell, gr. 16·79, **Plate VIII, 7.**
LXXIX.—*146*. Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
147. Cambridge, Leake, gr. 16·59, **Plate VIII, 8.**
LXXX.—*148*. Oxford, Ashmolean, gr. 16·98.

90. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. On l., outside the inscription, 𐤔. On r., outside the inscription, 𐤄.

LXXIX.—*149*. London, gr. 17·21; Newell, gr. 16·81 (= Chapman, King Sale, 1892, no. 80); Glasgow, Hunter, no .7, gr. 17·03, **Plate VIII, 9.**
LXXXI.—*150*. Leningrad, Hermitage.
151. Paris, 1356, gr. 17·06.
152. London, gr. 16·26, **Plate VIII, 10.**
LXXXII.—*153*. Copenhagen, gr. 16·55, **Plate VIII, 11.**
LXXXIII.—*154*. Santamaria, Dr. Hartwig, March 1910, no. 732, gr. 17·30, Plate xiii.

91. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. On l., outside the inscription, 𐤔. On r., outside the inscription, 𐤉.

LXXXII.—*155*. Newell, gr. 17·03, **Plate VIII, 12.**

92. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. No monograms.

LXXXII.—*156*. Washington, National Coll. (= Chapman, Earle Sale, no. 141), **Plate VIII, 13.**

With this issue the monogram 𐤀 disappears, and 𐤔 (sometimes 𐤊) takes its place as the signature of the chief magistrate. On the retirement from office of 𐤀, the old dies, which had been used to strike the gold stater no. 83 of Series V, were apparently found to be still in good condition. During the period of time necessary for the production of a new die embodying the change in the magistracy, the old reverse die was altered to suit the new conditions. This was accom-

plished by merely erasing from the die's surface the monogram of who was now no longer active. The result was not, however, quite perfect, as very obvious traces of the old monogram may still be discerned on the one specimen that has come down to us, now in the British Museum (no. 87). These old dies (Q and y^2), however, must have eventually worn out and were then replaced by the new pair, R—*z*, to which was later added another reverse die (*aa*). The style exhibited by these new dies is much inferior to that of the old pair. The same is true of the accompanying silver coinage. The distinct rise in artistic merit shown by nos. 74–6, 80–2, and 84–5 is again lost, the die-cutting sinking once more to a rather mediocre level. The workmanship appears ordinary and perfunctory, and frequently shows evident signs of haste and carelessness. This might well be expected at a time when preparations were being rushed to raise the enormous army and navy[19] with which Demetrius was planning to crush his many rivals, once and for all. For it is to the years 289–288 B.C. that Series VI, the last struck at Pella by Demetrius, must be assigned.

The very marked fluctuation in the artistic abilities of the various die-engravers which we have had frequent occasion to draw attention to in our study of the Pella coinages, is very characteristic of the issues of this mint from the days of Philip II. Excellent artists, as well as those of inferior ability, are found working side by side in the royal mint. Sometimes, through a succession of years, the poorer artists will predominate, when suddenly there will appear in their midst a new worker of marked ability. This characteristic phenomenon is well illustrated by nos. 65–92, and so, to one who for some years has studied the preceding coinages of Philip and Alexander, it offers an added reason for assigning these particular issues of Demetrius to the Pella mint.

In looking to the monograms and symbols for possible confirmation of our attribution we shall find that in this respect they do not assist us very much. There was apparently a decided break in the sequence of magistrates at our mint following the sudden collapse of the kingdom formed by Cassander. In all probability, therefore, Demetrius almost immediately rewarded certain of his faithful friends

[19] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xliii, xliv.

and followers by appointing them to responsible (and probably lucrative) positions in the place of Cassander's magistrates. Even so, if we refer to the prolific series of copper coins struck at Pella in the name of Cassander,[20] we shall find certain symbols and monograms which recur on the succeeding coinage of Demetrius. The STAR is one of the most characteristic symbols appearing on these Cassander issues[21] and occurs again on one of the two earliest tetradrachms (our no. 68) struck at Pella for Demetrius. The monogram is also found on Cassander's Pella issues[22] as well as on our tetradrachm no. 80.

The dates assigned to each of the various series described in this chapter may be open to discussion, though, at worst, they can hardly be in error by more than a few months either way. For we know, to within a few weeks, the exact length of time during which Demetrius was master in Macedon and so possessed of the rights of coinage there. Now our coins fall into six clearly marked and consecutive series. These series, as we have seen, are distinguished by changes in the supervising magistrates, in types, or in inscriptions. Furthermore, the issues themselves are all practically equal in size, if we make a fair allowance for a possibly heavier coinage in one year than in another, as well as for the vicissitudes of time which might happen

[20] Of the bronze coins struck at Pella by Cassander there are two denominations with the following types: Head of young Heracles for both sizes, *reverse*, Youth crowning his horse for the larger size, and lion breaking a spear for the smaller size. These coins were all struck at Pella, as follows from a comparison of their symbols and monograms with those found on contemporaneous silver issues of this mint bearing Alexandrine types. This attribution is further and definitely proved by the large hoard of these very coins actually unearthed in the ruins of ancient Pella itself (G. P. Oeconomos, Νομίσματα τοῦ Βασιλέως Κασσάνδρου in the *Archaeological Journal*, Athens, 1918). This study also contains a very complete list of all the known varieties of Cassander's bronze issues. The reader, however, is warned against accepting the attributions to various mints there proposed. M. Oeconomos, while presenting a most valuable study of the copper coinages of Cassander, is still labouring under the ancient delusion that the symbols found on these coins denote mint places. He has here been at pains to scatter the coins of what can only be the issues of a few large mints, far and wide over ancient Macedonia and its dependencies. In general, the copper coins of Cassander with the agonistic type, accompanied by the smaller denomination with the lion type, were struck at Pella; the Apolline type (*obverse*, Head of Apollo, *reverse*, Tripod) were struck at Amphipolis.

[21] Oeconomos, *loc. cit.*, nos. 36–8, 40, 52–4, 56–7, 69–70, 72–5, 77, 79–81, 83–5, 100, 110–11, 114–15.

[22] *Ibid.*, nos. 46–50.

to preserve for us more coins of one type than of another. Taking into consideration only the tetradrachm coinage, as being the larger and probably the more continuous, we secure the following table embodying the known varieties, obverse and reverse dies, as well as the actual known specimens in each group :

Series.	*Varieties.*	*Obverse dies.*	*Reverse dies.*	*Known specimens.*
Series I	3	2	7	9
Series II	3	4	5	5
Series III	3	2	6	13
Series IV	5	5	9	10
Series V	3	5	11	15
Series VI	4	9	15	18

It should be emphasized that these six series are entirely natural divisions of the coinage before us. So much so, that they gradually took shape in the writer's notes and accumulation of material before ever he attempted any serious arrangement, or sought to fit this into Demetrius' rule in Macedonia. The general uniformity of these series is therefore remarkable. On the strength of this it would seem that we are amply justified in assuming that each series must have covered about the same period of time. That the final series is slightly the largest in respect to dies and known specimens is easily accounted for by the fact that it covers just the period in which we know the wharfs and arsenals of Pella were particularly active in raising and equipping the great army and navy with which Demetrius was planning to make himself master of the Greek world. The assumption of the equal duration of each of the six series (and what is more natural ?) once being granted, we have but to fit them into the six years—Spring of 293 to Autumn of 288 B. C.—during which Demetrius was king in Macedon. Further discussion will be postponed until we have had the opportunity to check our conclusions by the results of a detailed study of the contemporaneous coinage appearing in the sister mint of Amphipolis.

X

EASTERN MACEDONIA

Mint: Amphipolis.

Series I. *Circa* 294–293 B.C.

93. Stater.

Head of Athena to r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a serpent.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike holding wreath and *stylis*. On l., ⌶. On r., ⋿.

S.—*bb*. Leningrad, Hermitage (= Pridik, *Anadol Hoard*, p. 88, no. 2), gr. 8·60, **Plate VIII, 14.**

T.—*cc*. Paris, 1333, gr. 8·57; London, gr. 8·55; Vienna, gr. 8·63; Newell, ex Grand Duke Alexander Michailovitch Coll., gr. 8·63; Brussels, Baron de Hirsch, gr. 8·63, **Plate VIII, 15.**

94. Tetradrachm.

Winged Nike with trumpet and *stylis* on a prow to l. The whole in a circle of dots.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Poseidon, entirely nude, striding to l. and brandishing a trident in upraised r. while stretching forward his l. wrapped in his mantle. In front, Tripod. Behind, ⌶ above ΜΕ.

LXXXIV.—*157*. Berlin, Löbbecke, gr. 16·48, **Plate VIII, 16.**

158. Athens, gr. 16·68 (Epidaurus Hoard, no. 44).

95. Tetradrachm.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but without the monogram ΜΕ.

LXXXV.—*159*. Paris, 1338, gr. 17·12, **Plate VIII, 17.**

96 Tetradrachm.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but with only the symbol Tripod.

LXXXV.—*160*. Hague, Six Coll., gr. 17·10, **Plate IX, 1.**

LXXXVI.—*161*. London, gr. 16·89, **Plate IX, 2.**

This first issue for Demetrius at Amphipolis parallels his first issue in Pella, and probably covers about the same period of time.

The great similarity of their silver issues is shown by the following diagram :

Mint.	*Varieties.*	*Obverse dies.*	*Reverse dies.*	*Known specimens.*
Series I, Pella	3	2	7	9
Series I, Amphipolis	3	3	5	5

We again find the Alexander stater being issued in conjunction with the 'Nike' type of tetradrachm. The style of these coins is mediocre, to the same degree as is found for the immediately preceding Alexandrine coinages of the Amphipolitan mint. As was the customary practice in all Macedonian mints at this time, the coins are struck invariably from loose dies.

The chief magistrate in charge of the issue signs himself with the symbol TRIPOD which appears on every one of the silver coins. It does not, however, occur on the gold stater, and this may mean that no. 93 should really be placed in Series II. On the other hand, the ⌶ which does appear on the stater is also present on every one but one of the tetradrachms. That the latter magistrate was the same individual who had previously been in office under Cassander and had placed his initial on so many coins of the Alexandrine type,[1] as well as on the accompanying issues of posthumous Phillip coins,[2] cannot definitely be affirmed. The suggestion, however, is made the more probable by the fact that both the ΜΕ and TRIPOD of our Demetrius' varieties also occur frequently on the above-mentioned Alexandrine issues of Amphipolis.[3]

Series II. *Circa* 293–292 B. C.

97. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but of better style.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Types similar to the preceding, but of better style. On l., ⌶. On r., ΗΡ.

LXXXVII.—*162.* Newell, gr. 17·07, **Plate IX, 3.**

LXXXVIII.—*163.* Rollin & Feuardent, Duruflé Sale, 1910, no. 338, Plate ix (= Rollin & Feuardent, Charvet Coll., 1903, no. 113).

[1] Müller, *op. cit.*, nos. 14, 15, 16, 66.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. xxiv, nos. 24, 25, 26.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. iii, nos. 15, 59, Pl. xxiv, nos. 26, 39, 43, and others in the writer's collection, but not known to Müller.

98. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., ⌶. On r., Δ. This monogram has been recut over a preceding ⊢P.

LXXXIX.—*164*. Hague, gr. 17·10; London, gr. 17·03, **Plate IX, 4.**

Like the corresponding issue (Series II) for Pella, the style of this second Amphipolitan Series, while not particularly fine, is nevertheless a distinct improvement over that exhibited by the initial series. Apparently, entirely new die-cutters were employed. The connecting link between Series I and II is the signature ⌶ of the chief magistrate. Two new assistants, ⊢P and Δ, now make their first appearance at his side.

This particular issue must have been comparatively small, as specimens are exceedingly rare, only four in all being known to the writer. As stated above, the stater no. 93 may be part of this series rather than of Series I. Its issue seems to have been fairly large, as no less than six examples are known. This would constitute an unusually large number of extant specimens for any one gold issue of Demetrius.

Series III. *Circa* 292–291 B.C.

99. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in a dotted circle.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Poseidon, naked to the waist, seated to l. on a rock. He holds an *aplustre* in outstretched r. and rests his l. upon a trident. In l. field, Δ above ⌶. On r., outside the inscription, ⊢P.

XC.—*165*. Paris, de Luynes Coll., gr. 17·11, **Plate IX, 5.**

XCI.—*165*. Paris, 1362, gr. 16·67, **Plate IX, 6.**

100. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but the monogram ⊢P is inside the right-hand inscription.

XCII.—*166*. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, gr. 17·10; Hirsch, XXXI, 1912, no. 275, gr. 17·20 (Plate viii); Newell (= Bunbury Sale, 1896, no. 815 = O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 342), gr. 16·45, **Plate IX, 7.**

167. Berlin, Löbbecke, gr. 17·31.

101. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. The same two monograms as above, in the l. field. On r., outside the inscription, .

XC.—*168.* M. Jameson (= Hirsch, XIII, Rhousopoulos Coll., 1905, no. 1165), gr. 17·22, **Plate IX, 8.**

102. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, but the monogram is inside the right-hand inscription.

XCI.—*169.* In commerce, gr. 16·95, **Plate IX, 9.**

103. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, but on r., outside the inscription, .

XCI.—*170.* Munich, gr. 17·34; London, gr. 16·05; Paris, 1361, gr. 17·16, **Plate IX, 10.**

XCIII.—*170.* Copenhagen, gr. 16·93, **Plate IX, 11.**

104. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, but the monogram is inside the right-hand inscription.

XCII.—*171.* Sotheby, Bruun Coll., May 1925, no. 364, Plate vi.

XCIV.—*172.* M. Empedocles, gr. 17·11, **Plate IX, 12.**

XCV.—*173.* Newell (= Ratto Sale Cat., no. 8, Plate xiii, no. 2004), gr. 17·08.

105. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. The same two monograms as above in the l. field. On r., inside the inscription, .

XCII.—*174.* Newell, gr. 16·44; Brussels, Baron de Hirsch, gr. 16·93, **Plate IX, 13.**

175. Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2175, gr. 17·20, Plate 84; Glasgow, Hunter, no. 11, gr. 17·07.

XCVI.—*176.* Naville, I, Pozzi Sale, 1920, no. 966, gr. 17·18, Plate xxxii; Cambridge, Leake, gr. 16·99; London, gr. 17·13, **Plate IX, 14.**

106. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. The same two monograms as above in the l. field. On r., inside the inscription, Κ.

XCIV.—*177*. Naples, 6667, gr. 17·20, **Plate IX, 15.**
178. London, gr. 16·99; Berlin, gr. 17·05.

Contemporaneously with the appearance of a portrait on the Pella issues, and the corresponding change from the fighting Poseidon to the seated Poseidon reverse, these same changes occur on the Amphipolitan coinage. While the Pella coinage still remained comparatively restricted in size, the Amphipolitan has suddenly grown very large indeed. This is shown not only by the greater quantity of specimens which have come down to us, but especially by the increased number of dies used, and by the apparently necessary expansion which took place in the college of moneyers. So greatly increased had the importance of this issue become that not only was a higher official appointed whose signature (ΑΡ) stands, throughout the issue, *above* that of the previous chief magistrate (Ι), but no less than three new assistant magistrates have also had to be added to the previous list of subordinates. The lesser officials ΗΡ and ΔΡ of the preceding issue again appear. At first the monograms of these subordinates are placed outside the inscription on the extreme right; but towards the end of the issue they are moved more to the left and occupy the space between the Poseidon figure and the inscription behind him. It is interesting to note that at both Pella and Amphipolis the left-hand side of the coin is generally considered the more important position. After the introduction of the portrait coins it is consistently reserved for the principal monogram—probably that of the chief incumbent of the office of monetarius.

The portrait of Demetrius before us is not unlike the young head presented by the contemporaneous Pella tetradrachm no. 76 **(Plate VII, 8)**, though somewhat fleshier as well as considerably inferior as a work of art. In fact, the artistic ability of the Amphipolitan die-engravers is, on the whole, distinctly below that of those who worked at Pella. On the other hand, their work is often quite impressive to the untrained eye. But it has a distinctly 'flashy' nature which stamps its producers as typical children of the coming

Hellenistic Age, when refined beauty will be subordinate to what is likely to impress the multitude.

If we compare the features of the fighting Poseidon on nos. 97 and 98 (SeriesII) with those of the seated Poseidon on nos. 99–106 (Series III) we readily reach the conclusion that, in all probability, only one engraver was actually employed to cut the reverse dies of both series.

Series IV. *Circa* 291–290 B. C.

Group A.

107. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in a circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l. Poseidon, naked to the waist, seated to l. on a rock, holding an *aplustre* in his outstretched r., and resting his l. on a trident. In l. field, . In the r. field, between the trident and the inscription, .

XCVII.—*179.* Brussels, Baron de Hirsch, gr. 16·88, **Plate X**, 1.
180. Munich, gr. 17·07.

108. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. The same monogram in the l. field, but behind Poseidon.

XCVII.—*181.* London, gr. 16·90, **Plate X, 2.**

109. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. The same monogram in the l. field, but behind Poseidon.

XCVIII.—*182.* London, gr. 16·88; Egger, XL, Prowe Sale, no. 765, gr. 17·35, **Plate X, 3.**
183. Leningrad, Hermitage.

Group B.

110. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, except that henceforth ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is on the r., and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ is on the l. In l. field, . In r. field, between the trident and the inscription, .

XCIX.—*184*. London, gr. 17·04, **Plate X, 4.**

C.—*185*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, gr. 17·13, **Plate X, 5.**

186. Athens, gr. 16·88 (Epidaurus Hoard, no. 42); Vienna, gr. 15·95; Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, gr. 17·10; Newell (= Hirsch, XXI, Weber Coll., no. 1255), gr. 16·60.

187. Milan, 2755 (very much worn).

111. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. The same monogram in the l. field, but with behind Poseidon.

XCIX.—*188*. London, gr. 17·20, **Plate X, 6** (= Hirsch, XIX, 1907, no. 335 = Sotheby, Cumberland Clark Sale, 1914, no. 141 = Merzbacher Sale, 1910, no. 408).

112. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. The same monogram in the l. field, but with behind Poseidon.

XCIX.—*189*. Cambridge, McClean (= Yorke-Moore Sale, no. 245 = Montagu Sale, 1896, no. 248), gr. 17·17, **Plate X, 7.**

This series is but a continuation of the preceding one, with a new chief magistrate in the place of and . Unlike the contemporaneous change in the reverse type effected at Pella (Series IV), we here find the earlier design of the seated god continued through another issue. That this particular issue really is a contemporary of Series IV of Pella, in spite of the difference in the reverse type, may be readily established by observing the important fact that in the course of the issue Demetrius' name is removed from the right-hand side of the type to the left-hand side, the title being correspondingly transferred, but in the inverse sense. In other words, we henceforth find ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the left. Exactly the same change is effected in Series IV of Pella. It is likely that such a radical change would be made more or less simultaneously in the various mints throughout the empire. This, indeed, we shall find to be the case, the very same phenomenon occurring at this time in all the mints subject to Demetrius' rule.

This change in the inscription divides the present series, as it did that of Pella, into two distinct groups which, for convenience' sake,

have been designated A and B. The two Amphipolitan groups are further differentiated by the fact that in A the left-hand monogram presents the form , but in B the form is . That the owners of these two monograms were really one and the same official is most likely, though perhaps not susceptible of absolute proof. The first monogram resolves itself most readily into some such name as ΦΙΛΕΜ (*ων*?), the second almost certainly consists of the letters ΦΙΛΕ. Now the reason for the change lies probably in the fact that in its first form the monogram is confusingly similar to that of the subordinate () who signs the tetradrachms nos. 108 and 111.

It is to be noted that while we possess the signatures of four out of the five lesser officials of the preceding series, each of the two groups which go to make up Series IV, is signed by only three each. In other words, we lack the monogram in Group A, and in Group B. This is probably due merely to the paucity of the coins of this particular series which have come down to us, no less than three of the six known varieties being represented by but single specimens. The future may thus bring forth a coin of Group A bearing the missing monogram , or a coin of Group B with the monogram .

A comparison of the coins of Series IV with those of Series III will doubtless convince one that the same die-engraver is still active. His dies, however, are growing distinctly larger in diameter, necessitating a corresponding increase in the size of the flans.

Series V. *Circa* 290–289 B. C.

113. STATER.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ below. Horseman with couched spear and wearing *kausia* and mantle galloping to r. On l., , on r., .

U.—*dd*. Locker-Lampson Coll., no. 165, gr. 8·61, **Plate X, 8.**

V.—*ee*. M. Jameson Coll., no. 1003 (= Hoffman Sale, Paris, 1898, no. 281), gr. 8·57; Paris, 1334, gr. 8·58, **Plate X, 9.**

114. STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram on the l. is .

V.—*ff*. Berlin, Fox (= Dupré Sale, Paris, 1867, no. 200), **Plate X, 10.**

115. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but with a circle of dots around.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Poseidon, entirely nude, standing to l. with r. foot upon a rock and holding a trident with his l. hand. In front, , behind, .

CI.—*190.* Paris, 1353, gr. 17·07; Hirsch, XIX, Nov. 1907, no. 334, Plate xi (= Merzbacher, Nov. 1909, no. 2799), gr. 17·10; Athens (Sparta Find), gr. 15·85.

191. Newell (= Chapman, Earle Sale, 1912, no. 140), gr. 16·80, **Plate X, 11.**

CII.—*192.* Sotheby, Butler Coll., 1911, no. 136, Plate iii; Sotheby, Headlam Coll., 1916, no. 420, Plate x.

CIII.—*193.* Vienna (= Egger, XLI, Fenerly Bey Coll., 1912, no. 436), gr. 17·28, **Plate X, 12.**

194. Commerce, 1922.

CIV.—*195.* London, gr. 17·25; Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2174, gr. 17·23, **Plate X, 13.**

CV.—*196.* Paris, Valton, gr. 17·25, **Plate X, 14.**

CVI.—*197.* Sir Charles Oman, gr. 17·11.

CVII.—*197.* Dr. Giesecke, **Plate XI, 1.**

116. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with on the r.

CI.—*198.* Newell, gr. 16·27.

199. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 10, gr. 17·07, **Plate XI, 2.**

CV.—*200.* London, gr. 16·78.

201. Berlin, Löbbecke (= Bompois Coll., no. 879), gr. 17·10; Hirsch, XXXI, no. 274, gr. 17·00.

202. Lyons, gr. 17·16, **Plate XI, 3.**

CVI.—*203.* J. Ward Coll., no. 401, gr. 17·03, Plate x.

CVII.—*203.* Naville, VI, Bement Coll., no. 781 (= Sotheby, Delbeke Coll., no. 96), gr. 17·32, Plate 27.

204. M. Empedocles, gr. 17·18, **Plate XI, 4.**

205. Platt, Luneau Sale, no. 384, Plate ix.

CVIII.—*206.* Berlin, Löbbecke, gr. 17·28, **Plate XI, 5**; Ciani, Allotte de la Fuÿe Sale, no. 293, gr. 17·44, Plate 5.

207. London, gr. 17·23.

208. London, gr. 16·71.

209. Lyons, gr. 16·91.

CIX.—*210.* Ratto, Sale Catalogue of Dec. 1922, no. 2003, Plate xiii (= Naville, I, Pozzi Coll., no. 961), gr. 17·17; Vienna, gr. 16·40, **Plate XI, 6.**

CX.—*211.* Athens (Sparta Find), gr. 16·80.

212. Berlin, gr. 17·28, **Plate XI, 7.**

CXI.—*213.* Newell, gr. 16·82.

214. Hague, gr. 17·20.

215. Cambridge, McClean, gr. 17·08, **Plate XI, 8.**

CXII.—*216.* Oxford, Ashmolean, gr. 16·87; H. A. Greene, gr. 16·15, **Plate XI, 9.**

117. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but with the monogram ⋀ on the r.

CX.—*217.* Newell, gr. 16·38 (piece broken out).

CXII.—*218.* Chapman, Jenks Sale, 1921, no. 65, gr. 17·09; London, gr. 16·76, **Plate XI, 10.**

118. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but the monogram on the r. has the form ⋀.

CX.—*219.* Paris, de Luynes, gr. 16·92, **Plate XI, 11.**

119. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but with the monogram ⋉ (sometimes ⋊) on the r.

CI.—*220.* Munich, **Plate XI, 12.**

221. London, gr. 17·08.

CVI.—*222.* Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, gr. 17·20, **Plate XI, 13.**

We have already noted that at Pella, about the year 289 B. C., the old-fashioned Alexander types of the gold stater were finally discarded, and new ones, of a more personal nature, introduced by Demetrius. It is therefore no surprise to find the same change taking place at the same time in the sister mint of Amphipolis. The chief magistrate ⋐ signs the new gold coins as a matter of course. Curiously enough, the accompanying monograms of his subordinates are not associated with him on the contemporaneous silver coinages of the mint. In fact these two monograms, ⋿ and ⋏, are peculiar to the gold coins, the former of the two having already appeared on the first gold coinage of our mint.

On the tetradrachms our old friends ⋔ and ⍙ again appear, together with ⋉ (⋉), who has not been active since Series III, where he signed the tetradrachm no. 106. In addition, we have one new magistrate signing himself variously ⋀ or ⋀. It is to be noted, before proceeding to the next issue, that all the monograms, of both the chief and his subordinates, are placed close to the Poseidon figure and inside the inscriptions.

As the warlike preparations of Demetrius for the immediate future proceeded apace there was apparently an ever-increasing issue of coin from the Amphipolitan mint, eventually finding its culmination in Series VI. For the silver coins of Series V we have records of no less than twelve new obverse dies, thirty-three reverse dies, and actual specimens amounting to forty-four pieces. This ever-increasing activity could only, in the end, be detrimental to any improvement in the style of the coins. The style, indeed, exhibits a continued development of what we have found on the coins of the preceding series. The portrait is becoming more and more stereotyped, and offers an ever-lessening resemblance to the accepted features of Demetrius.

Series VI. *Circa* 289—Autumn of 288 B. C.

120. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in circle of dots.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Poseidon, completely nude, standing to l., holding a trident in his l. hand and resting his r. foot upon a rock. In l. field, immediately in front of the god, ⋉. On r., outside the inscription, ⋔.

CXIII.—*223*. Berlin, Löbbecke, gr. 16·72, **Plate XI, 14.**
CXIV.—*224*. Gotha, **Plate XII, 2.**
CXV.—*225*. Newell, gr. 17·20, **Plate XII, 2.**
226. G. Bauer (= Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, II, 1921, no. 229).
227. Schulman, van Belle Sale, 1913, no. 2221, gr. 17·18, Plate ii.

121. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but with the first monogram (on the l.) outside the inscription.

CXVI.—*228.* Newell, gr. 17·04, **Plate XII, 3.**
CXVII.—*229.* Naville, I, Pozzi Sale, no. 962, gr. 17·16, Plate xxxi.
CXVIII.—*230.* Naville, I, Pozzi Sale, no. 963, gr. 17·18, Plate xxxii.
CXIX.—*230.* London, gr. 17·02, **Plate XII, 4.**
CXX.—*231.* London, gr. 17·00, **Plate XII, 5.**
CXXI.—*232.* Washington, National Coll., gr. 17·26, **Plate XII, 6.**
CXXII.—*233.* Sir Charles Oman, gr. 16·98; Berlin, Fox, gr. 16·96, **Plate XII, 7.**
234. Commerce, 1920; Newell (broken).
CXXIII.—*235.* J. Wertheim; Brussels, gr. 16·89, **Plate XII, 8.**
236. Copenhagen, gr. 16·69.
CXXV.—*237.* Commerce, 1925, gr. 17·22.

122. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with the right-hand monogram placed so .

CXVIII.—*238.* Paris, 1351, gr. 16·68, **Plate XII, 9.**

123. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. The monogram is on the l., immediately in front of Poseidon and inside the inscription. On the r., outside the inscription, .

CXIII.—*239.* (with recut over). Berlin, v. Gansauge, gr. 16·72, **Plate XII, 10.**
240. Paris, 1352, gr. 16·62.
CXV.—*241.* Brussels, de Hirsch, gr. 17·06, **Plate XII, 11.**
CXXIV.—*241.* Mrs. E. T. Newell, gr. 17·44, **Plate XII, 12.**
242. Hirsch, XXX, Barron Sale, no. 473, gr. 16·75, Plate xv.
243. Naville, I, Pozzi Sale, no. 959, gr. 17·22, Plate xxxi.
CXXV.—*244.* Turin, Museo Archeologico, no. 2669, gr. 17·20, **Plate XII, 13.**
CXXVI.—*245.* Gotha; Hague, gr. 15·30, **Plate XII, 14.**

124. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with the left-hand monogram outside the inscription.

CXVIII.—*246* (monogram on this die is). Berlin, gr. 16·96; London, gr. 17·16, **Plate XIII, 1.**

CXX.—*247.* Sotheby, Bruun Sale, May 1925, no. 363, Plate vi; Athens, gr. 17·20.

248. Athens, gr. 16.81.

249. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, gr. 16·89, **Plate XIII, 2.**

250. Hirsch, XXXIII, 1913, no. 665, gr. 17·25, Plate xv.

CXXI.—*251.* Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, gr. 17·19, **Plate XIII, 3.**

252. Merzbacher Sale, 1910, no. 407, gr. 17·07, Plate 8.

CXXII.—*253.* Serrure, Sale of Nov. 1911, no. 44, Plate ii; Brussels, de Hirsch, gr. 17·03, **Plate XIII, 4.**

254. Hague, gr. 17·15.

255. Naples, no. 6668, gr. 17·02.

256. Commerce.

257. Bourgey Sale, May 1910, no. 75, Plate ii.

CXXIII.—*258.* London, gr. 17·02, **Plate XIII, 5.**

259. J. Wertheim (= Hirsch, XXI, Consul Weber, no. 1256), gr. 17·00; Hirsch, XXIX, Lambros, no. 286, Plate vii, gr. 17·12; de Sartiges Coll., no. 210, Plate xiii.

CXXV.—*260.* Paris, 1350, gr. 17·15, **Plate XIII, 6.**

261. Dr. E. P. Robinson, gr. 16·78.

CXXVII.—*262.* Mr. Gillette (= Naville, I, Pozzi Sale, no. 960, Plate xxxi), gr. 16·91; Cambridge, McClean Coll., gr. 17·08.

263. Naville, IV, 1922, no. 471 (= Sotheby, Schlesinger y Guzman, 1914, no. 68), gr. 17·27, **Plate XIII, 7.**

264. Munich, gr. 16·57.

265. Newell, gr. 17·00.

266. Vienna, gr. 16·88.

CXXVIII.—*267.* J. Wertheim; Glasgow, Hunter, no. 9, gr. 17·52; Newell, gr. 16·96.

268. Paris, 1349, gr. 17·16, **Plate XIII, 8.**

269. Egger, XXXIX, Vienna Dupl., 1912, no. 266, gr. 17·08, Plate viii.

270. Drucklieb, gr. 16·62; Egger, XL, Prowe, 912, no. 766, gr. 16·95, Plate xv.

CXXIX.—*271.* Naville, V, 1923, no. 1463 (= Ratto Sale, 1912, no. 648), gr. 17·08, **Plate XIII, 9.**

CXXX.—*272.* Newell, gr. 17·11, **Plate XIII, 10.**

CXXXI.—*273.* Mr. G. Bauer, gr. 16·96, **Plate XIII, 11**; J. Ward Coll., no. 400, gr. 16·98, Plate x.

Only the two subordinates and continue their activities on this issue, supervised as before by . The series is differentiated from the preceding one by its style, which is more developed, and by

the position of the monograms. In no single case do both of the monograms appear at one time in the inner fields between the Poseidon figure and the inscriptions. Either both monograms are entirely outside of the inscription, or the principal monogram alone is on the inside, the subordinate's still remaining outside.

Although the rather banal type of portraiture of the preceding series is continued, we nevertheless have, in one or two instances, dies of very much improved style (i. e. CXV, cf. **Plate XII, 2 and 11**). Not only are they artistically quite fine, but the features of Demetrius become once more recognizable as really his. On the other hand, the final dies (CXXX–CXXXI) fall lower than anything we have yet met with in the Amphipolitan coinage. These the writer would assign to the last and probably rather hectic weeks of Demetrius' rule in Macedonia, when Lysimachus was advancing with a powerful army from the east, while Pyrrhus was sweeping all before him in the west. Dies cut during these uncertain days would probably have been hastily and carelessly made. Money would be a paramount necessity, and no one would cavil if artistically they did not quite measure up to standard.[4] On **Plate XIII, 12** is reproduced a coin, now in the Hermitage Collection at Leningrad, which is of such debased style that the writer hesitates to incorporate it in the body of his catalogue, certainly not until he has been able to inspect the coin itself. It is just possible that it represents a contemporaneous forgery. On the other hand, as otherwise we should only have examples of the poorest style signed by Λ, this coin may represent the companion piece signed by his only colleague in Series VI, namely Μ.

Series VI appears to be the largest single issue ever put forth in the name of Demetrius. No less than nineteen obverse and fifty-one reverse dies, as well as sixty-seven actual specimens, are known

[4] There remains another possible explanation for the appearance at the end of the Amphipolitan series of these pieces distinguished by their particularly crude style. Hünerwadel, on pp. 75–6 of his life of Lysimachus, gives reasons for believing that the siege of Amphipolis mentioned by Polyaenus (iv. 12. 2) is to be placed at the end of Demetrius' rule in Macedon. The accompanying events, as well as the context of the passage, lead to the conclusion that Amphipolis must have held out for some time against the forces of Lysimachus. If Hünerwadel's view be accepted then we may—with considerable show of reason—recognize in these specimens of crude style a coinage issued during the siege. Their style is sufficiently indicative of the stress under which they must have been struck.

to us. As new specimens are almost daily putting in an appearance, the future ought to see a very material increase in our figures. The unprecedented size of this issue doubtless reflects the straining of every sinew on the part of Demetrius in that last great attempt of his to meet and overcome the combined forces of his many adversaries.

We have already had occasion (p. 102) to call attention to the fact that certain symbols and monograms, appearing on the final Amphipolitan coin issues of Cassander and his sons, recur again on the immediately succeeding ones of Demetrius. In like manner, on the Amphipolitan issues of Lysimachus we find certain monograms which we have already met with on those of Demetrius. These coins which Lysimachus caused to be struck at the great mint on the Strymon are partially represented in Müller, *Die Münzen des thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, nos. 101–8. Among the magistrates which sign them we find no less than three[5] who had already worked for Demetrius, namely, , , and . As is only natural, these Lysimachian issues are very similar in style and fabric to the coins of Series VI. Compare the latter with the two Lysimachus tetradrachms on **Plate XVIII, 5 and 6.** We find the same spread flans, the same rather flashy but empty style, the same superficial work. Compare also the snaky locks on both types of coins, the peculiar manner of handling the eye with its large iris and pupil depicted. Close inspection will show many another minor detail to be the same, so much so that all possible doubt as to the identity of their mints should vanish.

The relative difference in size between the Demetrius issues of Amphipolis and those of Pella is a characteristic found throughout all the preceding coinages of the two mints since the days of Philip II. In its silver coinage Amphipolis is ever the larger, a fact that is easily explained when we remember that the city lay within easy reach of the far-famed and fabulously rich silver mines of Mount Pangaeus, as well as of those about Stageira.

Taking these Amphipolitan issues of Demetrius as a whole we

[5] In the writer's collection there is another tetradrachm of Lysimachus, not known to Müller, with the monogram . This monogram we have met on nos. 114 and 124 (reverse die *246*) of Demetrius.

again find them falling most naturally into six distinct groups, distinguished by certain changes in types, in inscriptions, in monograms, and in style. As we have found the same to be also true of the Pella coinage, we have but to do as we did in that case, namely, to assign each one of the six series to the six years of Demetrius' rule in Macedonia. In this way it is most clearly revealed that an identical development in style, types, inscriptions and fabric takes place simultaneously in both mints. Especially significant is the fact that thus the important change in the order of the inscription will be found to fall at identically the same moment in the issues of each mint. This is strong proof that our distribution and dating of their several issues must be approximately correct.

If now we study the two large groups (nos. 65–92 and nos. 93–124) as a whole, we immediately become impressed by the obvious fact that in fabric and style they differ radically from the remaining issues of Demetrius (excepting nos. 134–8, of which more later). In addition, they are by far the largest of all his many coinages, and, in their component parts, the most evenly consecutive. In fabric, in style, in sequence of types and inscriptions they are close counterparts of each other. It is obvious therefore that they must have emanated from two rather closely associated mints situated in the same general portion of Demetrius' widely scattered domains. Furthermore, it will be admitted by all that, because of their types and style, they must belong to the second half of Demetrius' reign. Therefore they cannot possibly have been struck in Asia. Their style and fabric is unlike anything to be found among the known coinages of Asia Minor, Cilicia, Cyprus, or Phoenicia. After 294 B.C. there were no two more or less closely associated mints working for Demetrius for so many consecutive years in any of these last-mentioned districts. Our coins can therefore only represent the issues of those two large and active mints, Pella and Amphipolis—both for generations more or less closely associated in their monetary issues, both situated in the same province, and both within easy reach of exceptionally rich gold and silver mines. The deductions drawn from this rather obvious reasoning are completely corroborated by the numerous small numismatic or technical details which we have pointed out and

discussed from time to time in preceding pages. There is no need to repeat them here. To be emphasized, however, is the fact that nos. 65–124 are absolutely typical of both preceding as well as succeeding Macedonian issues. It is only among these that our coins will fit satisfactorily from every point of view. In addition, we know that Demetrius held Pella and Amphipolis from 294 B.C. to the autumn of 288 B.C.—that is, towards the end of his reign. During these six years no political or military event occurred in this portion of his kingdom to hinder for a moment the even functioning of these mints. This point is well illustrated by the coins themselves as compared with the issues of some of his other mints.

There are also at our disposal the records of a hoard which supplement the proofs of a general Macedonian origin of nos. 65–124, furnished by their typically Macedonian style, and by various monograms and symbols which likewise appear on preceding or succeeding Macedonian coinages. While all the other known hoards[6] which chance to contain coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes have specimens from widely scattered mints, we possess one Macedonian hoard which not only contains more coins of Demetrius than have been furnished by any other one find, but, with possibly one exception, all of these coins were struck in Macedonian mints. The hoard in question is said to have been found at or near Salonica in Macedonia. Its contents would seem to substantiate this assertion fully. At any rate, it is certain that it passed through the hands of a Salonica antiquity dealer. Later the hoard was purchased—whether absolutely intact or not we do not know—by the Viennese dealer, Dr. Walla, who incorporated the coins in his price list, Heft vi, 1897–8.[7] To the present writer, Dr. Walla in 1912 gave the few facts known to him concerning the hoard. Among many coins of Alexander the Great, Philip III, and Lysimachus, there were also seven tetradrachms of Demetrius (Dr. Walla's list, nos. 183–9). These contained the following varieties: Pella, nos. 77 (Walla, no. 188),

[6] Epidaurus Hoard, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1903, pp. 98–116; Sparta Hoard, *Annual of the Brit. School at Athens*, xiv, 1907–8, nos. 19–21; Anadol Hoard, *Bull. de la Com. Imp. Arch.*, 1902; Kililer Hoard in the manuscript records of the Athens National Coll., 1910–11 and 1911–12; Sophiko Hoard, *Journ. Int. Num.*, vol. x, 1907, p. 43.

[7] See also the writer's *Tyrus Rediviva*, New York, 1923, p. 11, note 4.

82 (Walla, no. 183), and 85 (Walla, no. 184); Amphipolis, nos. 111 or 116 (Walla, nos. 185 and 189), nos. 112 or 119 or 120 (Walla, no. 187); Euboea (?), no. 153 (Walla, no. 187). The proportion of varieties we have proposed to assign to the Macedonian mints is indeed significant.

MACEDONIAN BRONZE COINAGE

Mint: PELLA.

125. UNIT.

ΦΙΛ on the boss of a Macedonian shield.	Crested Macedonian helmet between BA ΣΙ. On left, the symbol CRESCENT.

α–γ. London, gr. 5·19, 4·06, 3·91; *δ.* Athens; *ε.* Paris; *F.* Newell, gr. 4·22, **Plate XIII, 13.**

126. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., DOUBLE-AXE.

α. Glasgow; *β.* London, gr. 4·78; *γ.* Paris; *δ.* Athens; *ε.* Newell, gr. 4·33, **Plate XIII, 14.**

127. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., RACE-TORCH.

α–γ. London, gr. 4·07, 3·93, 2·99; *δ.* Athens.

128. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., PEDUM.

α. Glasgow; *β.* Athens; *γ.* London, gr. 3·55, **Plate XIII, 15.**

129. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., BUNCH OF GRAPES.

α. Glasgow; *β–ε.* London, gr. 4·47, 4·14, 3·72, 3·71; *F.* Paris; *ζ.* Newell, gr. 4·40, **Plate XIII, 16.**

130. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., PELLET.

α–δ. Athens; *ε.* Newell, gr. 4·46.

131. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., ANCHOR.

α. Glasgow; *β–γ.* London, gr. 5·12, 3·65, **Plate XIII, 17.**

132. UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. No symbol.

a. London, gr. 3·86, **Plate XIII, 18.**

133. FRACTION.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. No symbol (?).

a. Glasgow; *β*–*ε*. London, gr. 1·11, 1·05, 0·95, 0·84; *f*. Newell, gr. 0·87, **Plate XIII, 19.**

That the customary attribution of these bronze coins to Macedonia is correct can hardly be questioned. Style and fabric are both typical of the district, and single specimens usually seem[8] to come from northern Greece, Macedonia, or Thrace. Throughout, these coins are struck from loose dies. Former writers[9] have usually given these coins to Demetrius II. As against the attribution to Demetrius II should be urged the fact that in style and fabric they are quite unlike the latest issues of his predecessor Antigonus Gonatas—those, namely, which bear the type of a satyr erecting a trophy. They also vary decidedly from the Macedonian shield and helmet type coins of Philip V. For the latter bear emblems—such as star, club, head of Perseus, &c.—on the boss of the shield, and instead of the simple ΒΑΣΙ, as on the Demetrius coins, they have inscriptions reading ΒΑ|ΦΙ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ in full. Thus nos. 125–33 hardly fit in well between the issues of these two kings. In fact they are far more analogous to the coins of the first quarter of the third century than they are to those of the last quarter. In both style and fabric, as also in types, they are strikingly similar to the coins usually attributed[10] to the period of the 'Interregnum', 286–277 B. C. Above all, they bear the king's monogram (in this case ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ on the shield's boss exactly as do the earliest[11] bronze coins of Antigonus

[8] For instance, not long ago a small collection of copper coins, formed in Salonica, was offered to the writer for sale. Apart from many Roman imperial and Byzantine coins the collection consisted entirely of issues of the Macedonian kings, autonomous coins of Pella, Thessalonica, and Amphipolis, together with many of the so-called Greek-imperial coins of these and other Macedonian mints. Among the regal coins were several specimens similar to nos. 125–33. Other examples in the writer's collection have also reached him from Macedonia.

[9] Head, *Historia Numorum*[2], p. 232; Macdonald, *Hunter Catalogue*, i, p. 342.

[10] Head, *ibid.*, p. 230; Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, i, p. 339, nos. 1–4; Forrer, *Weber Coll.*, ii, p. 81, no. 2183.

[11] As proved by the identity of monograms on these bronze coins and the corresponding silver issues of Alexandrine types.

Gonatas, 277–239 B.C., which have the same types and his monogram ANTI,[12] or the Macedonian issues of Pyrrhus, 287–286 and 274–272 B.C., which bear ΠΥΡ.[13] Thus the only other Macedonian bronze coins which possess the peculiarity of a Macedonian shield adorned with the ruler's name in monogram appeared between the years 287 and *circa* 260 B.C. It would be anomalous to take our coins away from this period and place them some forty years later, when, apparently, it was no longer customary for the king's monogram to appear upon the shield.

Nos. 125–33 have been assigned to the mint at Amphipolis because of their thick, dumpy flans and rather crude appearance, which peculiarities are typical of Amphipolitan bronze issues under Cassander.[14] Similarly, there is little or no correspondence between the control marks appearing on the bronze coins and those occurring on the contemporaneous gold and silver issues. It is probable that the less valuable metal was coined either in a special *officina* of the mint and under the supervision of an entirely different set of magistrates, or, as is very likely, the coining of bronze pieces was farmed out to private individuals. Such a practice may have been more prevalent in ancient times than we suspect or have the means of determining.

[12] Macdonald, *ibid.*, p. 342, nos. 22–3.

[13] Head, *ibid.*, p. 230.

[14] The question of the attribution of Cassander's bronze issues to their several mints is inextricably involved with the attributions of his corresponding silver issues bearing Alexandrine types. The entire question is too long and intricate to find room in the present work. The writer hopes, however, before long, to be in a position to publish his researches in this field.

XI

MACEDONIA

Uncertain Mints.

A

Circa 291–290 B. C.

134. Tetradrachm.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Poseidon naked to waist, seated to l. upon a rock, holds an *aplustre* in his outstretched r. and rests l. on a trident. In l. field, M.

CXXXII.—*274*. Naville, VI, Bement Sale, no. 780 (= Bourgey, Bougerol Coll., June 1909, no. 215), gr. 17·33, **Plate XIV, 1.**

Circa 290 B. C.

135. Tetradrachm.

From the same die as the preceding.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Types similar to the preceding. In l. field, M.

CXXXII.—*275*. Newell, ← (= Jameson, no. 1006), gr. 16·77, **Plate XIV, 2.**

While apparently using the Amphipolitan issues nos. 99–112 as their models, the above two coins do not appear to be more closely associated with that particular coinage. Hence they must have been struck at some other mint. Furthermore, in the present case, the control mark used is a single letter, while at Amphipolis monograms, or monograms associated with a letter, are the universal rule. That the mint of nos. 134–5 was situated in Macedonia is suggested, though not proved, by the use of loose dies, by the similarity of the style to that found on the issues of the great city on the Strymon, and by the general slovenliness of the workmanship. No attribution to

a definite city can at this time be made, though one might be tempted to suggest the town of Philippi as a possible mint. But this is solely because we happen to possess no coins of Demetrius which could be assigned to that important place. As it was situated not far to the east of Amphipolis the style of its coinages might conceivably have been influenced by the far more numerous and important issues of the metropolis of eastern Macedonia.

The dates here assigned to nos. 134–5 are determined both by the dates of the issues which had served as their models, and also by the change in the order of the words which form the legend. For we have learned that at both Pella and Amphipolis the royal title was first shifted from the left-hand side of the reverse die to the right-hand side (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ then making the corresponding shift from the right to the left side) about the year 290 B. C. Our two coins follow the Amphipolitan rather than the Pella issues in effecting this change while the seated Poseidon type was still being used.

B

Circa 291–290 B. C.

136. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r., the whole surrounded by a circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Poseidon, naked to waist, seated to l. upon a rock. He holds an *aplustre* in his outstretched r. and rests his l. upon a trident. In l. field, HELMET OF PERSEUS. The whole is surrounded by a circle of dots.

CXXXIII.—*276*. Berlin, Fox, ↓, gr. 16·35 (holed), **Plate XIV, 3.**

Circa 290 B. C.

137. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Similar to the preceding and with same symbol.

CXXXIII.—*277*. Schulman, Kreling Sale, 1913, no. 234, gr. 16·95, Plate ii.

CXXXIV.—*278*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, ↓, gr. 17·14, **Plate XIV, 4.**

After *circa* 289 B.C.

138. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but of somewhat different style.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Poseidon, entirely nude, standing to l., holds trident with his l. hand and rests r. foot upon a rock. On l., outside of the inscription, PROW. On r., between Poseidon and the inscription, Φ.

CXXXV.—*279.* Helbing, Zietsche & Köder Sale, 1913, no. 325 (= Hirsch, XXVI, 1910, no. 157), gr. 16·45; London, ↖, gr. 16·54, **Plate XIV, 5.**

CXXXVI.—*280.* Egger, XL, Prowe Sale, 1912, no. 767 (= Ratto, Sale of Apr. 1909, no. 1962), gr. 17·14, **Plate XIV, 6.**

CXXXVII.—*281.* Naville, X, June, 1925, no. 450 (= Mavrogordato-Beltazzi Coll., no. 335, Plate ix, 13 in *Journ. Int. Num.*, vol. xiii, 1911), →, gr. 17·15; Berlin, Sperling, ↖, gr. 17·21, **Plate XIV, 7**; Berlin, Löbbecke, ↗, gr. 16·95.

CXXXVIII.—*282.* Newell, ↖, gr. 17·21, **Plate XIV, 8.**

This group of three varieties also presents certain peculiarities of fabric and style more or less characteristic of Macedonian issues, such as loose dies and a certain hardness and general carelessness in the actual die cutting. The symbol on nos. 136–7 also suggests Macedonia. For this type of helmet—of the so-called Phrygian shape, and adorned at the point of the crest with a griffin's head—we find at a later date being worn by Philip V,[1] Perseus,[2] and Philip Andriscus[3] on their Macedonian coinages. Nos. 136 and 137 are obviously modelled after the Amphipolitan nos. 107–12, while no. 138 is apparently copied from no. 120 ff. of the same mint. A comparison of **Plate XIV, 3–4** with **Plate X, 1–7**, and **Plate XIV, 5–8** with **Plate XII, 7** shows clearly the very close parallelism which exists, especially between the obverse dies of the two groups. But however closely nos. 136–8 succeed in imitating their Amphipolitan models it is equally evident that they cannot once have formed an actual part of that coinage. They may, then, have been struck in another mint.

[1] Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, Plate 41, 7.
[2] Forrer, *Cat. of the Weber Coll.*, Plate 86, no. 2221.
[3] *Ibid.*, Plate 87, no. 2251.

The presence of a prow[4] as a symbol on no. 138 would seem to suggest its origin to have been in some seaport. In view of this we might be justified in hazarding the names of Thessalonica or of Cassandreia, both flourishing cities at this time and likely to have possessed mints. One anomalous feature such an attribution would call forth is the undeniable fact that the die cutters apparently used the issues of Amphipolis, rather than those of Pella (the nearer city), as models. But another possible solution offers itself. Demetrius might have found it expedient to open a temporary and subsidiary *officina* (having its own die cutters and officiating magistrates) in Amphipolis at this particular time. For it must be remembered that to Demetrius this was a period of great stress, and one filled with unprecedented efforts. He had but recently come into possession of the unusually rich silver mines of Mount Pangaeus. As shown by the immense coin issues of Pella, and especially of Amphipolis, appearing at this time, he was sparing no effort in order to fill his coffers to overflowing. He had to meet not only the present enormous demands of continuous campaigning, but had also to lay a solid foundation for those comprehensive plans[5] now being formed by his ambitious and restless mind. Increased facilities at the active mint at Amphipolis, which lay within such easy reach of his principal sources of supply of silver bullion, must have been especially desirable at this particular juncture.

The whole question of attribution, however, is so uncertain that it were best to leave the matter as it now stands, awaiting possible future finds or new evidence to enable a surer judgement to be made. With regard to the dates given for nos. 136–8, they have been based on the ascertained dating of the Amphipolitan issues which had so apparently served as models for our three varieties. As was also the case at Amphipolis, the seated Poseidon type continued for one issue of coin after the change in position of the words of the inscription had taken place.

[4] No. 138 has here been associated with nos. 136–7 without question. Definite proof that they belong to one and the same mint we have none, as the marks of control vary. On the other hand, there is a general similarity of appearance between the three varieties, and they obviously copy consecutive issues of the same mint, that is, of Amphipolis.

[5] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xliii.

XII

BOEOTIA

Mint: Thebes.

Circa 290 B. C.

139. Tetradrachm.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in a dotted circle.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l. Poseidon, entirely nude, standing to l. holding a trident in his l. hand and resting his r. foot upon a rock. Between his feet, Ⓜ.

CXXXIX.—*283*. London, ↖, gr. 17·08, **Plate XV, 1.**

140. Hemidrachm.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Between Poseidon's feet, Ⓜ.

a. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↖, gr. 1·97.
β. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↖, gr. 1·95.
γ. Berlin, Prokesch-Osten, →, gr. 1·935.
δ. Newell, ↘, gr. 1·86 (purchased in Athens).
ε. London, ↓, gr. 1·944, **Plate XV, 2.**
f. Leningrad, Hermitage.

These hemidrachms are all struck from a single pair of dies.

289–287 B. C.

141. Tetradrachm.

An older head of Demetrius, wearing horn and diadem to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Poseidon as above standing to l. Behind l. foot, Ⓜ.

CXL.—*284*. Naville, X, June 1925, no. 449 (= Naville, I, Pozzi Coll., Apr. 1921, no. 964), ↓, gr. 17·09; Bourgey, Dr. Rousset Coll., Apr. 1908, no. 114, Plate iv; London, ↖, gr. 16·87, **Plate XV, 3.**

CXLI.—*285*. Newell, ↖, gr. 16·67; Turin, Museo Archeologico, ↓, gr. 16·85, **Plate XV, 4.**

CXLII.—*286*. Newell, ↖, gr. 16·75, **Plate XV, 5.**

142. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar head to r. Similar to the preceding. Behind l. foot, Ⱥ.

a. Turin, Royal Coll., no. 19960, →, gr. 2·00, **Plate XV, 6.**

As in both style and fabric these coins are so utterly unlike anything we have yet met with, they must assuredly belong to some district whose issues we have not so far had occasion to study. Asiatic they cannot be, as we know that Demetrius had lost the greater portion of his dominions there during the years 294–293 B. C., and at that early date the design of the standing Poseidon with one foot upon a rock had not yet been introduced into Demetrius' coin types. Again, the arrangement of the inscription of nos. 139–40 will not permit us to assign the coins to the few months in 287–286 B. C., during which time Demetrius had once more regained a short and precarious hold upon his former possessions in Asia Minor. In the case of the Macedonian mints we have found that this particular arrangement of the words of the inscription was definitely altered as early as 290 B. C. There is no reason to suppose that any mint in Asia Minor would, four years later, revert to the old style. Certainly no other mint of Demetrius ever did, as his remaining issues clearly prove. The fact that the coins are struck from loose and eccentrically placed dies precludes an Asiatic origin.

With his Macedonian coinages, as we have come to know them, nos. 139–42 bear not the slightest resemblance. Not a single characteristic of the Macedonian style and fabric is to be found here. Hence we must look elsewhere for their place of mintage. Hellas proper is the sole remaining portion of Demetrius' wide realms whose coin issues we have not yet touched upon. And here we are fortunate to possess a clue whose definiteness and clearness leaves little to be desired. If we carefully compare the Demetrius' tetradrachms, **Plate XV, 3–5**,[1] with the Boeotian tetradrachm, **Plate XV, 7**, we must recognize the issues of a single mint. Not only is the style and fabric of these coins alike, but the very details of design and

[1] A particularly fine coin of this type is to be found in the magnificent tetradrachm in the Pozzi Sale, Naville, I, April 1921, no. 964, Plate XXXII, later in Naville, X, June 1925, Plate 15, no. 449.

modelling are absolutely identical. Allowing for the obvious differences necessary in the representation of a bearded god's head and that of a diademed, beardless mortal, there are striking similarities between the Poseidon[2] head of the Boeotian coin and the Demetrius head of no. 141. We find the same general contours, the same dishevelled appearance of the hair, the same strong, forward push of the chin, the same pronounced fleshiness of the cheek and jowl, this latter characteristic distinctly noticeable even beneath the heavy beard worn by Poseidon. Still more strikingly alike are the Poseidon figures on the reverses of our coins. Note especially their exaggerated muscular appearance, a form of artistic convention at this time rapidly gaining favour in contemporary sculpture over the more natural and restrained taste of preceding schools. The most convincing similarity of all is offered by the heads (diminutive in size though they be) of the two Poseidon figures. Comparing the respective reverses of the Demetrius and of the Boeotian tetradrachms (**Plate XV, nos. 3–5, and 7**), we find the Poseidon heads so identical that they are absolutely interchangeable. Every hair, every contour, every line is identical. The towsled hair, the aggressively jutting beard, the nose and prominent frontal sinus (together distinctly convex rather than straight in their common outline) giving an individuality of head and features quite peculiar to this particular series. Add to this the similarity in fabric between the two series—the loose dies, the rather concave reverses, the smallish thick flans (as compared, for instance, with the broader Macedonian issues), the finely cut beading of the surrounding circles —and we are perforce led to the inevitable conclusion that their respective dies must have been cut by one and the same artist, the coins themselves struck in one and the same mint.

Having once established the identity of style and mint between no. 141 and the well-known Boeotian tetradrachms of Attic weight, of which **Plate XV, 7** is a typical example, it behoves us to learn the latter's mint and dating. Now numismatists[3] have always agreed in

[2] Some writers have considered this head to be that of Zeus. Head, *Historia Numorum*[2], p. 353, recognizes a Poseidon head, and we have followed his interpretation.

[3] Among others, Mionnet, ii, p. 103, no. 59; Head, *Hist. Num.*[2], p. 353, and 'The Coinage of Boeotia', *Num. Chron.*, vol. i, 1881, pp. 258–9.

believing these coins to have been struck at Thebes, in the name of the Boeotian people, shortly after the liberation of their city in 287 B. C. Such an attribution is clearly supported by the types, the inscription, the style of the coins themselves as well as by the known historical facts. When in 288 B. C. Demetrius was driven from his Macedonian kingdom and arrived a fugitive in Greece, it became imperative for him to assemble his scattered and diminished forces, while, at the same time, retaining as firm a hold as possible on the only portion of his realm that still remained to him. He could not everywhere assure himself of the loyalty of Hellas by means of strong garrisons. For this his actual forces were no longer sufficient. He was therefore forced to concentrate his army in one or two places if he wished to make headway against his many enemies. Elsewhere, he had merely the goodwill of his subjects to rely upon. As a step towards securing this goodwill at such an important centre as Thebes he now granted autonomy[4] to that great city. With this autonomy went the ancient right to strike coins in their own name. The Thebans, apparently, at once made use of their regained privilege, employing the same die cutter and workmen who had previously been engaged in producing the Theban issues of Demetrius.

Returning now to his coinage, nos. 139 and 140 are his earliest issues at Thebes that have come down to us. Both coins show the earlier style of inscription, the name ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ being on the right. This fact lends its weight to the strong indications presented by style and fabric that both the tetradrachm (no. 139) and the hemidrachm (no. 140) formed part of one and the same issue, in spite of the slight difference to be noted in the details of their respective monograms. This difference, however, is undoubtedly due to the very small flan of the hemidrachm which forced the die cutter to conform his monogram to the narrow space at his disposal. In fact, the monogram on the small denomination is obviously merely a simplification of that appearing on the tetradrachm. This was apparently but a small issue, only one example of the tetradrachm being known, while all of the hemidrachms which have come down to us are struck from a single pair of dies.

[4] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xlvi. 1.

The immediately succeeding issue (nos. 141, 142) also consists of tetradrachms and hemidrachms. On both denominations the title appears on the right, the name on the left, as at Pella and Amphipolis after the year 291–290 B. C. The monogram appearing on the tetradrachm is exactly that of the preceding hemidrachm (no. 140), while the monogram of the accompanying hemidrachm is still further simplified by omitting the surrounding circle. A further improvement has been effected by placing the monogram to the right of Poseidon's left heel, instead of between his feet. Evidently the artist felt that that space was much too cramped, and that the presence of the monogram there caused his Poseidon figure to assume an unpleasant straddling pose.

The dates which have been assigned to this issue are based upon the already established dating of similar issues at Pella. There, for instance, we learned that the standing Poseidon type was first introduced about 291 B. C., and that shortly afterwards the king's name was moved from the right-hand side of the reverse die to the left, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ being moved in the opposite direction. If then we were to assign nos. 139 and 140 to *circa* 291–290 B. C. and nos. 141–2 to 290–288 B. C. we will find ourselves probably not far from the truth. For with these dates such events as we know to have taken place at Thebes during Demetrius' reign would seem to coincide. In the first place, Demetrius had apparently made no attempt upon the city[5] until after he had definitely secured Macedonia.[6] In 293 B. C., then, after invading Boeotia he besieged and eventually captured Thebes.[7] Not long afterwards, however, Thebes revolted, but quickly surrendered again on the reappearance of Demetrius before its walls. These events all occurred in the year 293 B. C. In the autumn of the following year, while Demetrius was in the north preparing to invade Thrace, Thebes and the surrounding country revolted for the second time. Boeotia itself was soon subdued by Demetrius' son Antigonus. He thereupon laid siege to the capital, Thebes. Demetrius hastened down from the north, himself to take charge of the operations. But still the city held out. Stubbornly,

[5] Droysen, *Gesch. des Hell.*, ii[3], p. 259.
[6] Among others, Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 139.
[7] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, xxxix. 1–2.

even desperately defended through many long and weary months, it successfully resisted every attempt at assault. It was certainly not until well into the year 291 B. C.[8] that this resistance was finally overcome and the city completely subdued. In the early months of 292 B. C., which cover the interval between the first and second revolts, there might have been time to open a mint, prepare all necessary dies and other appliances, and to commence striking coins. But if so, no specimen of this issue has as yet put in an appearance. If such coins ever existed they would undoubtedly bear Nike or seated Poseidon types like the contemporary issues of the Pella mint. It must be remembered, however, that the time available was comparatively short, and the attention of Demetrius and his ministers was fully occupied with affairs in Macedonia. Even there, in spite of large and what might appropriately be termed ready-made mints taken over from the preceding régime, and with rich silver mines in the immediate vicinity, the coin issues for these years were comparatively small.[9] It is hardly likely, therefore, that much if any coinage of royal type could have been issued at Thebes during the troublous days of 293 and 292 B. C., with their rapidly shifting events and frequent change of masters.

From the middle of 291 B. C. on, however, Boeotia resigned itself to becoming a definite portion of Demetrius' empire. Its capital Thebes might thereupon well possess a royal mint. The appearance of the first issue, represented by nos. 139 and 140, in 291–290 B. C. squares well with all historic or numismatic necessities. The fact that but little time remained before the change in legend was effected at Pella accounts for the rarity of the specimens. Many more specimens of the succeeding issue of tetradrachms have come down to us. When finally, under stress of circumstances, Demetrius in 287 B. C. was constrained to restore complete autonomy to Thebes, we find the issues in his name ceasing, to be immediately replaced by a coinage bearing the name of the Boeotian people (**Plate XV, 7**).

[8] Tarn says summer of 291 B. C., *loc. cit.*, p. 41, and note 8.

[9] See the comparative tables of known dies and specimens on pp. 100 and 102.

XIII

THESSALY

Mint: Demetrias.

After *circa* 290–289 B. C.

143. Tetradrachm.

Elderly portrait of Demetrius, with diadem and bull's horn, to r. in a circle of dots.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on l. Poseidon, entirely nude, standing to l., holding a trident with his l. and resting his r. foot upon a rock. To r., between Poseidon's l. ankle and the trident, ⋈.

CXLIII.—*287*. Naples, Fiorelli, no. 6669, ↓, gr. 17·04, **Plate XIV, 9**.

144. Tetradrachm.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but with an additional monogram, ⍓, on the l. in front of the rock.

CXLIII.[1]—*288*. J. Wertheim; Naville, IV, June 1922, no. 472 (= Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2173), ↑, gr. 17·17, **Plate XIV, 10**.

CXLIV.—*288*. Naville, I, Dr. Pozzi, Apr. 1921, no. 965, gr. 16·78, Plate xxxii.

289. Jameson, no. 1004, ↑, gr. 17·10, **Plate XIV, 11**.

CXLV.—*290*. Bourgey, Coll. Rous, 1911, no. 104, Plate iv.

CXLVI.—*290*. London, ↖, gr. 16·52; Newell, ↑, gr. 16·64, **Plate XIV, 12**.

145. Tetradrachm.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but with the second monogram (⍓) erased from the die. On reverse die *291* the head of Poseidon is represented as facing.

CXLVI.[1]—*291*. Paris, no. 1355, ↑, gr. 16·94, **Plate XIV, 13**.

292. Newell, ↖, gr. 16·97, **Plate XIV, 14**.

[1] These obverse dies now show signs of wear and damage from long continued use.

For reasons of expediency the geographical order has in this case been laid aside and the Thessalian issues described after the Boeotian (see preceding chapter). It would have been very difficult to locate the mint of nos. 143–5 had it not previously been possible to establish the Theban origin of nos. 139–42. As a glance at the plates will speedily reveal, the style of the above coins was obviously directly inspired by and copied from that of the Theban issues. Particularly in the portrait of Demetrius do we find the same curious forward push of the chin and the same pronounced fleshiness of the cheek and jowl, appearing in an even more exaggerated form than on the Theban issues. In fact, so closely do nos. 143–5 resemble no. 141, that the writer long believed them to be the continuation of that issue and so a product of the Theban mint. Several considerations, however, would seem to oppose this viewpoint and to suggest that nos. 143–5 were really struck in some other, though nearby, mint.

Because of various details of style and design the Boeotian tetradrachm, **Plate XV, 7,** must have been the immediate successor of the Demetrius tetradrachm no. 141. Now we have already stated our firm belief that nos. 143–5 must have been copied from no. 141. They possess all the curious characteristics and mannerisms exhibited by that coin—but to an exaggerated degree. It is not likely, therefore, that they *preceded* no. 141, but rather constituted either contemporary or later copies. On the other hand, they cannot have appeared *between* no. 141 and the tetradrachm of the Boeotian people (**Plate XV, 7**), for these two coins shade off so closely, the one into the other, that they leave no room for the possible insertion of nos. 143–5. These three varieties have been arranged in the order of their appearance as proved by style, monograms, and the increasing wear exhibited by some of their obverse dies.[2] But the *earliest* of these coins, namely no. 143, is the nearest in style to no. 141. Hence the group 143–5 cannot possibly have preceded no. 141 —a fact that we have already deduced from considerations of style. This is further supported by the obvious difficulty of trying to insert

[2] The obverse die CXLIII when used for no. 144 exhibits far more wear and damage than when it was used for no. 143. Likewise die CXLVI of no. 145 is more damaged than the same die when used for no. 144. Also the monogram , appearing on the reverse dies of no. 144, has later been erased from the reverse die *292* when used for the issue of no. 145.

the series of monograms appearing on nos. 143–5 between the first appearance of the monogram ⊛ on no. 140 and its next appearance on no. 141. The very logical and natural sequence of both monograms and style would thus be broken up. Every form of numismatic consideration, therefore, leads us to the conclusion that nos. 143–5 must have been struck in some mint other than the Theban, but in one situated not too far away from the Boeotian capital.

Other cities in Boeotia itself need hardly be considered. There would be little reason for Demetrius to have maintained two royal mints in that restricted area. Neither Locris nor Phocis was particulary suited for one of his mints. Furthermore, they were very open to invasion by his enemies. In fact his hold on them was but precarious at best, and we know that in 290 B.C. he was even forced to celebrate the Pythian games at Athens because Delphi at that time was actually in the hands of the Aetolians. Athens herself, no doubt, still retained her immemorial right of local coinage. Demetrius in all his dealings with that proud and wayward city seems always to have shown the greatest desire to remain in her good graces, and for this reason was ever most lenient, even under the severest provocations. He undoubtedly would be most chary of infringing too greatly upon her cherished privileges. Garrisons may have been maintained by him on the Mouseion and in Munychia—but that is no reason to assert that the city no longer coined its own money. Of recent years numismatists have gradually become inclined to extend the time limits of her coinages.[3] Certainly, Athenian tetradrachms of the old style, and similar in type and fabric to the gold coins probably struck by Lachares[4] in 296–295 B.C., are known to occur in

[3] Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923; Babelon, *Traité*, ii³, pp. 111–20. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 184 shows that Athens retained her right of coinage until 261 B.C.

[4] U. Köhler, 'Über die attische Goldprägung' in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, vol. xxi, 1898, pp. 5 ff. Köhler gives this second issue partly to 339–338 B.C. and partly to 295 B.C. That he is wrong with regard to the first of these dates, but probably right with regard to the second, several considerations would seem to show. He himself points out that the Athenian gold issues were always struck for reasons of necessity rather than of commerce, and that their mintage was closely connected with the golden treasures of Athena on the Acropolis (*Die Goldprägung der Athener hat in enger Beziehung zu dem goldenen Festapparat auf der Akropolis gestanden*) to which the Athenians were accustomed to have recourse in times of great stress. That this had happened in 407–406 B.C. we have literary evidence, but we have none what-

hoards[5] buried throughout the course of the third century B.C. This would hardly have been the case if her coinage had come to a sudden stop in 322 B.C. (see Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 375) or even in 294 B.C., when the city finally fell to Demetrius. If, therefore, Athens was still coining her usual 'owls', there would be no reason for Demetrius to have established a mint of his own, in addition to that operated by the city. His own men would be just as willing to accept the long familiar 'owls', and Athenian workers on his fleet or merchants from whom he purchased supplies would probably prefer them. Besides, it is hardly likely that mint officials at Athens, even when working for Demetrius, would look to Boeotia for their coin models.

To the east of Thebes lay the great port and fortress of Chalcis —a city which undoubtedly struck coins for Demetrius. But her issues were other than those now under consideration, and will be described and studied in the succeeding chapter. Thus in all directions from Thebes, save one, there was no city which could present a reasonable claim to nos. 143–5.

There remains, then, only Demetrias to the north. A recent foundation of Demetrius himself, centrally located, possessed of a splendid harbour, and probably more suited to the domination of the Aegean and of the lands from Macedonia to the Taenarus than any other fortress in his possession, Demetrias was from the outset

ever that it happened again in 339–338 B. C. after Chaeroneia. Furthermore, we possess no literary evidence to show that the treasures melted for the 407/6 issue were actually restored until the financial administration of Lycurgus, which covered the years 334–330 B. C.—or some time after Chaeroneia. That they were restored then we have ample testimony. Hence everything would seem to point to the fact that the second issue of Athenian gold must have been due to the crisis of 295–294 B. C., or when Lachares was in power. Now this is also *the only other occasion* of which we have the literary notice that the gold ornaments of the Acropolis were once more used (see Pausanias, i. 29. 16 and Niebhur, *Vorträge*, iii. 149 ff.). As the laurel branch symbol of the first issue points to the source—the golden Nikes—from which the metal was taken, so the *Kalathos* symbol of the second issue proclaims the principal source of its metal (described by U. Köhler as *Pompgeräthe und Schmuck für die Kanephoren als Festapparat angefertigt*). It was probably some of the gold staters of this very issue which Lachares took with him on his flight from Athens and scattered behind him to delay his pursuers (Polyaen., iii. 7. 1).

[5] S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, *passim*. Note especially the hoards of Kililer (*circa* 287–275 B. C.) ; Olympia (*circa* 250-240 B. C.) ; Sophiko (*circa* 240–230 B. C.) ; Sparta (*circa* 245–240 B. C.) ; Aegina (after *circa* 287 B. C.) ; Epidaurus (*circa* 287–281 B. C.) ; Lamia (*circa* 300–290 B. C.) ; Patras (late third century B. C.).

intended for his capital[6] and royal residence. This, then, most certainly, would be the location of an active mint coining his royal money. Authorities differ as to the exact date at which Demetrias was founded. Some[7] believe this event to have taken place immediately after Demetrius' acquisition of Macedonia, that is in 293 B.C. Others[8] refer it to the year 290 B.C. Whichever of these dates may be taken as the correct one, some time would no doubt elapse before a mint would be actually started. In any event, it is to be noted that our coins all belong to the latest type of Demetrius' issues—that is, with the royal title on the left-hand side of the reverse die—and so could not have appeared previous to 290 B.C.

We have already had occasion to point out the remarkably close similarity in style and fabric between nos. 143–5 and the Theban issues. This fact rather tends to support the proposed assignment of these coins to the newly founded Demetrias. For such a 'brand new' mint would naturally possess no previous local tradition of art and coinage[9] which it might follow, and so would naturally be dependent upon some other and older mint for its models. The necessary skilled artisans would then have to be transferred to the new establishment from whatever neighbouring mint could most easily spare them. Now this could hardly have been from either Amphipolis or Pella. Not only were they some distance away, but at this particular juncture it would have been a short-sighted expedient to remove much needed workmen from either of the two mints which were actually engaged in producing the bulk of Demetrius' coinage. By comparison, the activity of a mint at Demetrias must have been a very secondary consideration. The smooth and continuous functioning of the Macedonian mints, into which the freshly mined gold and silver bullion from the neighbouring mountains was now being poured, must have been absolutely vital at a time when Demetrius was commencing his vast military

[6] See especially, Tarn, pp. 38–9.

[7] So Niese, i, p. 366; Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 2786; Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 37; F. Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, p. 68.

[8] For instance, Head, *Historia Numorum*[2], p. 294; Professor Perrin, in his translation of Plutarch's *Demetrius*, p. 609.

[9] The predecessor of Demetrias, Pagasae, had never enjoyed the right of coinage, while the nearest mint, Pharsalus, had not coined since the final absorption of Thessaly into Philip's kingdom in 346 B.C.

preparations for the domination of the world. Geographically speaking, perhaps the nearest mint to Demetrias was that situated at Chalcis in Euboea. But Chalcis, too, was at this time in very much the same position as Pella or Amphipolis. Plutarch mentions it as being among the four great seaports which were then actually engaged in building Demetrius' mighty armada. Here, too, every man would probably be needed at the local mint for producing the supplies of coined money constantly in demand at the wharfs and arsenals to pay for supplies and to meet the wages of soldiers, sailors, and workmen. From the foregoing it is at once obvious that of all the nearest active mints only that at Thebes would be both available and suitable. The coinage now being issued at the Boeotian capital was no doubt used principally for local circulation in Boeotia—as the comparatively large number of extant specimens of the hemidrachm, so useful in petty transactions, would seem to suggest. A workman or two could therefore easily be spared. This would account for the fact that the issues from the new mint at Demetrias are so strikingly similar to the contemporary coinage of Thebes.

XIV

EUBOEA

Mint: Chalcis.

Circa 291–290 B.C.

146. Tetradrachm.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l. Poseidon, entirely nude, standing to l., holding a trident in his l. hand and resting his r. foot upon a rock. The whole in a dotted circle. On the l., outside the inscription, Ξ; below, Dolphin.

CXLVII.—*293*. Newell, →, gr. 15·70 (holed), **Plate XV, 8.**

Circa 290–287 B.C., or later.

147. Tetradrachm.

Similar head to r. in a circle of dots.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Similar to the preceding. On the l., outside the inscription, ⊗ over a Club.

CXLVIII.—*294*. Paris, no. 1354, ↑, gr. 17·06, **Plate XV, 9.**

295. Milan, Brera Coll., no. 2756, ↑; Commerce, ↑, gr. 17·09.

CXLIX.—*296*. London, ↑, gr. 17·07, **Plate XV, 10.**

CL.—*296*.[1] Turin, Royal Coll., no. 19955, ↑, gr. 16·90, **Plate XV, 11.**

148. Tetradrachm.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. No monogram or symbol.

CLI.—*297*. Athens, ↑, gr. 16·89, **Plate XV, 12.**

[1] There is another specimen in the collection of Herr J. Wertheim from the reverse die no. *296*: the obverse die, however, is too worn to distinguish by means of a cast only. It probably is die CL.

149. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On l., outside the inscription, ☓.

CLII.—*298*. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 5, ↑, gr. 16·80, **Plate XV, 13**.

CLIII.—*299*. Athens, gr. 16·65, **Plate XV, 14**.

150. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. The features are of a slightly more advanced age.	Similar to the preceding. On the l., outside the inscription, ⋉; on the r., outside the inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES.

CLIV.—*300*. Newell, ↑, gr. 17·10; H. A. Greene (= Helbing, Zietsche & Köder Sale, 1913, no. 326), ↑, gr. 16·50; Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 17·10, **Plate XV, 15**.

CLV.—*300*. Empedocles (= Hirsch, XXV, Philipsen Coll., no. 538 = Hirsch, XXXIII, 1913, no. 666), ↑, gr. 16·69, **Plate XV, 16**.

CLVI.—*301*. Leningrad, Hermitage. (The obverse of this specimen has been somewhat tooled); Sotheby, American Artist, 1910, no. 63, gr. 16·75, Plate iii.

CLVII.—*302*. London, ↖, gr. 17·02, **Plate XV, 17**.

151. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On the l., outside the inscription, uncertain monogram. On the r., outside the inscription, ⋔.

CLVII.—*303*. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 4, ↑, gr. 17·28, **Plate XVI, 1**.

152. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. On the l., outside the inscription, EIGHT-POINTED STAR. On the r., outside the inscription, △I.

CLVIII.—*304*. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 8, ↑, gr. 17·02, **Plate XVI, 2**.

CLIX.—*305*. London (= Sotheby, Montagu Sale, 1897, no. 138), ↑, gr. 17·11, **Plate XVI, 3**.

306. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·55.

THE mint which once issued this group of tetradrachms must have been of even greater importance than the extant specimens would seem, at first sight, to suggest. Such additional specimens as turn up from time to time seem ever to increase the known number of

dies, both obverse and reverse. Future students will undoubtedly be able to add greatly to the preceding list.

The style and fabric of our coins is characteristically that of Greece proper, showing numerous affinities with the Theban series. The reverse die no. *306* is especially close to reverses nos. *284-6*, which probably served it for a model. Our mint could not then have been so very far away. Of all the mints, within a certain radius of Thebes, which could have coined for Demetrius, Chalcis alone can lay claim to the large group of coins described above. Not only was Chalcis one of Demetrius' most important fortresses, ensuring him the domination of Hellas,[2] but it was also one of his principal naval stations. As stated above, it is named by Plutarch, in the same breath as Pella, Athens, and Corinth, as one of the four great dockyards where Demetrius about 289 B.C. commenced to build his famous armada. It must surely have had a mint at this time wherewith to supply the coined money so necessary to meet the enormous expenses entailed by these preparations. Furthermore, that the money of Demetrius circulated extensively on the island of Euboea is proved by an inscription,[3] and from this we may draw the conclusion that a mint for the issuing of this coinage was probably located on the island itself. If so, then this mint could only have been at Chalcis, the largest city and the centre of Macedonian power in Euboea.

In support of our attribution of nos. 146–52 to Chalcis, attention should be drawn to the similarity of some of the Poseidon figures on these coins (notably no. 150) with the Zeus figures on certain Alexandrine tetradrachms (B.M. Cat., *Central Greece*, Introd., p. lxii [4]) whose attribution to Chalcis is unquestioned. The similar issues of Pella again serve as a convenient base upon which to calculate the probable dates of the Chalcidian coinage of Demetrius. Of the earliest issue, shown by the ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the right to belong to *circa*

[2] Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, pp. 204, 289. From the very nature of things, Chalcis was of the same importance under Demetrius as it was later under his son Antigonus.

[3] Published by K. Kourouniotes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1911, p. 1, no. 1.

[4] In addition to this there is another type, represented by a fine specimen in the Paris collection (no. 700), which bears the symbol of an eagle tearing a serpent, a characteristic type found on the Chalcidian autonomous coinages both before and after this date. On this coin the stylistic affinity of the Zeus figure with that of Poseidon on nos. 150 ff. is particularly close.

291–290 B.C., only one example has come down to us (no. 146). But of the succeeding issues numerous specimens and varieties attest a greatly increased volume of coinage for just the period, be it noted, when the arsenals and dockyards of Chalcis must have been fairly humming with feverish activity.

There is no real reason to suppose that our coinage ceased with the capture of Demetrius by Seleucus in the spring of 285 B.C. It must be remembered that Antigonus still held most of Greece and probably ruled it in his father's name, for the latter was not dead but merely a prisoner, whom a turn of fortune might easily liberate once more. Why should not his son therefore have continued to issue the money with the old types throughout the period of Demetrius' captivity, and at least until his death which supervened in 283–282 B. C. ? Throughout this time Chalcis remained loyal. The long series of magistrates' names and symbols appearing on its coinage lends further support to our suggestion.

Before closing our remarks on the issues attributable to Chalcis we should point out the interesting fact that, if not actually fixed, the dies of these coins show a far greater regularity of position than those of any other mint in Macedon or in Greece proper. In this regard they stand apart. To be exact, they represent one of the earliest instances of adjusted dies known to the writer for the coinages of Hellas. This practice, so common to the mints of Asia, was now apparently gradually winning its way into favour even among the mints of the west. And here comes an interesting and rather surprising fact. After the preceding words had been written, the writer took the occasion, which he had previously neglected, of more especially investigating the die positions of the *autonomous* issues of Chalcis. He was somewhat astonished—and very much gratified—to find that these autonomous issues were also, for the most part, struck from adjusted dies, a most unusual practice for the mints of Hellas at so early a date.

The following statistics are necessarily somewhat incomplete as they are based solely upon specimens at present available. To the coins in the British Museum[5] have been added such specimens as

[5] Statistics covering the specimens in the British Museum were most kindly supplied by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson in reply to a very hastily sent appeal.

chance to be in the writer's own collection and supplemented by a few scattered coins on the local coin market, in the private collections of Messrs. S. P. Noe and W. G. Beatty, and the collections of the American Numismatic Society and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The results obtained, however, are very interesting and most illuminating. The only coins which pertain to the present investigation are the following types of the British Museum Catalogue, *Central Greece*, pp. 110–11, nos. 41–59 and nos. 61–9, all usually assigned to the years 369–336 B.C. Only the coins which show the nymph's head to the right are of interest to us. Those with the head to the left (e.g. B.M. Cat., nos. 38–40) are obviously of earlier style and accordingly exhibit considerable irregularity in the relative positions of their obverse and reverse dies. For the remainder, if the reverses are so held that the eagle assumes an upright position (and not as if the bird were flying to the right, as on Plate XX of the British Museum Catalogue) the relative position of the dies will be found to be the following:

Symbol.	*Position* ↑.	*Position* ↖.	*Position* ↑.	*Eccentric Positions.*
CADUCEUS (B.M. Cat., no. 53)	4	2	0	0
CANTHARUS (B.M. Cat., nos. 48–9)	3	2	0	0
CORN GRAIN (B.M. Cat., no. 54)	0	1	0	0
CRESCENT (Drachm)	1	0	0	0
CRESCENT (B.M. Cat., nos. 57–9)	0	3	0	0
STAR (B.M. Cat., no. 55)	1	1	0	0
STAR (Hemidrachm)	3	0	0	0
TRIDENT (B.M. Cat., nos. 46–7)	2	2	0	0
TROPHY (B.M. Cat., nos. 50–2)	3	2	0	1
WREATH (B.M. Cat., nos. 41–5)[6]	7	0	0	1
𐤊 (B.M. Cat., nos. 61–9)	14	1	2	1
No symbol (B.M. Cat., no. 56)	1	0	0	0
	39	14	2	3

Thus there is revealed a most significant uniformity in the relative positions of the obverse and reverse dies of the Chalcidian autonomous issues which preceded the coin issues of Demetrius in that mint. Of the fifty-eight specimens investigated, thirty-nine (or more than two-thirds) were struck from dies in the upright ↑ position. In addition, no less than sixteen of the remainder show their reverse dies to have been but slightly placed to the right (two specimens) or

[6] A *fourrée* specimen of this variety in the British Museum has not been included as, being an ancient forgery, it has no bearing on the subject.

to the left (fourteen specimens) of the upright position. Only three coins (that is, a comparatively negligible number) were struck from dies eccentrically placed. In all of this there can be no possibility of a mere coincidence. The general uniformity of the die positions must have been a matter of intention, even though the dies themselves may not have been actually adjusted to an absolutely rigid position.

A similar result is obtained by the investigation of the fourth century issues of the neighbouring mint of Eretria. The coins in question (British Museum Catalogue, *Central Greece*, p. 95, nos. 7–16) bear the federal inscription ΕΤΒ. Those of earliest style (*ibid.* nos. 7, 15–18) with the nymph's head to right, have irregularly placed dies. Of the later issues, with the head to the left, the writer has investigated seventeen specimens (seven in the British Museum). On these the position ↑ occurs twelve times, ↖ occurs three times, ↗ occurs twice. In the material at the writer's disposal no other positions than the three here enumerated were found. Strongly contrasting with these results are those obtained by studying the die positions of the common issues of Histiaea with the type of a nymph seated upon a ship's stern. Among these coins there is found to be a very great general irregularity in the relative positions of their obverse and reverse dies. Apparently, then, the practice of adjusting dies was at this time being followed only in the mints of Chalcis and Eretria, and it seems to have been adopted by them as early as the middle of the fourth century B.C. This interesting and important fact very strongly supports our proposed attribution to Chalcis of nos. 146–52, the only examples[1] found in all of Demetrius' Greek coinages which are struck from adjusted dies.

UNCERTAIN ISSUES OF EUBOEA (?)

After *circa* 290 B.C.

153. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Poseidon, undraped, standing to l., holding trident with l. hand, and resting r. foot upon a rock. In l. field, between Poseidon and inscription, ⋈.

[1] With the exception of the following no. 154, which coin, however, is probably also from the mint at Chalcis—as its style would seem to suggest.

CLX.—*307*. Newell, ↘, gr. 16·75; Dr. Petsalis, **Plate XVI, 4**.
308. London, ↓, gr. 17·11.

154. DRACHM.

Similar, but of finer style. Similar, but of finer style. On l., outside of the inscription, Α.

α. London, ↑, gr. 4·25, **Plate XVI, 9**.
β. Munich, ↑, gr. 4·11.
γ. Cambridge, McClean (= Hirsch, XXI, Weber Coll., no. 1257), ↑, gr. 3·91.

These drachms are all struck from the same obverse but from different reverse dies.

The coins described above exhibit many stylistic affinities with nos. 146–52. The same is true of their general fabric, though no. 153 appears to have been struck from loose dies. Little can be said about their probable mint, except that they may have been struck in Chalcis, or in one of the other large cities of Euboea, such as Histiaea, Eretria, or Carystis. The monogram on the drachm appears to represent one of the common names compounded with *ἀγαθός*, such as *Ἀγαθοκλῆς* or *Ἀγάθαρχος*.

XV

PELOPONNESUS (?)

Mint: Sicyon-Demetrias (?).

Circa 291–290 B. C.

155. Tetradrachm.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in a circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l. Poseidon, undraped, standing to l., holding trident with l. hand and resting r. foot upon a rock. Between his feet, ⊛ above Cornucopiae. In l. field, between Poseidon and the inscription, H within a Wreath.

CLXI.—*309*. Paris, no. 1357, →, gr. 17·05, **Plate XVI, 10.**

After *circa* 290 B. C.

156. Tetradrachm.

Slightly older head to r. in a dotted circle.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Similar to the preceding. On l., outside inscription, HP within a Wreath. On r., outside inscription, ΙΑ.

CLXII.—*310*. Vienna, ↓, gr. 17·07, **Plate XVI, 11.**

157. Tetradrachm.

Same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Between Poseidon's feet, HP within a Wreath. On l., between Poseidon and the inscription, ΙΑ.

CLXII.—*311*. Cambridge, MacClean (= Sim Sale, no. 169), ↓, gr. 17·20, **Plate XVI, 12.**

158. Stater.

A still older head of Demetrius to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ in two lines beneath a Macedonian horseman wearing *kausia* and mantle, and armed with a long spear, galloping to the r. Above, behind the rider's head, HP within a Wreath. Below, behind the horse, ΞΕ.

W.—*gg*. Brussels, Baron de Hirsch, ↓, gr. 8·59, **Plate XVI, 13.**

159. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r. in a dotted circle.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Poseidon, undraped, standing to l., holding trident with l. hand and resting r. foot upon a rock. Between his feet, ⊢P within a WREATH. On l., in front of the god, ⊢. On dies *312* and *314* this monogram takes the form ⊢. The whole surrounded by a dotted circle.

CLXIII.—*312*. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↓, gr. 17·10, **Plate XVI, 14.**

CLXIV.—*313*. Petsalis; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Perkins Coll., ↓, gr. 16·99, **Plate XVI, 15.**

314. Leningrad, Hermitage; Berlin, ↑; Newell, ↖, gr. 17.15.

315. London (= Cumberland-Clark Sale, Sotheby, 1914, no. 139), ↑, gr. 17·24.

THESE gold and silver coins must represent the issues of a single mint, as shown by their uniform style and fabric, as well as by the constant presence of H or ⊢P contained in a wreath. Strikingly individual is the appearance of these coins and quite unlike anything that we have yet met with. The fact that they are also unlike any issues of the Alexandrine type known to the writer makes their assignment to a definite mint all the more difficult. One thing may be said to be fairly certain—they could not have been struck east of the Aegean Sea, for Demetrius had lost his possessions in Asia Minor previous to the introduction upon his coins of the Poseidon figure resting his foot upon a rock. The types, the style, the apparent length of time during which these coins were issued, and their loose dies all forbid an Asiatic attribution. Neither can any of the gold staters bearing the horseman type be assigned to a date previous to the year 290 B.C. The series is also too large to have been struck during the few months in 286–285 B.C., when Demetrius once more succeeded in securing a precarious foothold in one or two places in Asia. And out of these his forces were very soon chased by the pursuing army of Lysimachus.

In no single particular, except possibly that of loose dies, do our coins resemble the issues of Pella, Amphipolis, Demetrias, Thebes, Chalcis, or the other series to be assigned to Macedonia or central Greece. We have seen above (pp. 133–4) that a possible mint at

Athens is practically out of the question. The same is probably true of Corinth. Numismatic writers[1] have almost universally assumed that the Corinthian *poloi* continued to appear throughout the first half of the third century B.C., until, in fact, the city in 243 B.C. became a member of the Achaean League. Certainly the present writer knows of no really tangible evidence to controvert the accepted view. There remains available, then, only that portion of the Peloponnesus which was still held by Demetrius' forces after his retreat from before Sparta in 294 B.C. and his subsequent expedition into Macedonia. To this district we have not yet been able to assign any of his coinages. Nevertheless it constituted an important and fairly populous portion of his dominions. Surely, at some one of its larger cities, such as Sicyon, Argos, or Epidaurus, a mint must have been located for the production of his royal money.

At Sicyon there had long been established a mint for the coining of royal money, that is, money bearing the types of Alexander the Great or of his father Philip. Both silver tetradrachms and gold staters had been issued[2] from here in great abundance ever since the early days of Alexander's reign. Judging by the great variety of their styles, these coins, the tetradrachms in particular, continued to appear not only down to the time of Demetrius but even for long afterwards.[3] Undoubtedly, some of these 'Alexanders' were also struck under Demetrius, especially after he had removed the old city to the acropolis, refounded it there, and greatly embellished it.[4] The new city henceforth, for a time, bore the name Demetrias in his honour. It would indeed be a matter to cause surprise if Demetrius had not had at least a few coins struck here bearing his own name and types.

Of all Demetrius' royal issues, so far studied, only nos. 155–9 can by style or fabric lay any claim whatsoever to a Peloponnesian origin. If so, then it is to the mint at Sicyon that they should probably be assigned. This is supported by the fact that the series includes a gold stater. Now Sicyon, so far as we know, is the only mint in either

[1] Among others, Babelon, *Traité*, ii^3, p. 440; Head, *Historia Numorum*^{2}, pp. 402–3.

[2] E. J. Seltman, *Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.*, xiv, 1912, pp. 177–80; Newell, 'Alexander Hoards, Demanhur', American Numismatic Society's *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 19, 1924, pp. 75 ff.; Müller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.; Newton, *Num. Chron.*, 1853, pp. 29 ff.

[3] Babelon, *Traité*, ii^3, p. 540.

[4] Diodorus, xx, 102, 3.

central Greece or the Peloponnesus that ever struck gold staters bearing royal types and names. It must be admitted, however, that until now none of the Alexandrine tetradrachms known to have been issued from Sicyon have been found to exhibit details of style similar to the tetradrachms described above. If these really are Sicyonian, their dies must have been cut by some other artist, perhaps one imported from abroad. On the other hand, the monogram ⊢P is of frequent occurrence on the Sicyonian Alexandrine tetradrachms,[5] though on these it is never placed in a wreath. On the whole, then, while the attribution of nos. 155–9 to Sicyon is plausible, it must still remain quite conjectural until further proof, for or against it, can be obtained.

[5] Compare Müller, nos. 865, 870, 888. There are a number of additional varieties in existence, all bearing the same monogram, but which are not contained in Müller's list.

XIV

UNCERTAIN MINTS

Silver.

160. Tetradrachm.

Diademed and horned head of the young Demetrius to r. in a dotted circle.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Poseidon, undraped, standing to l. holds trident with l. hand and rests r. foot upon a rock. On l., outside the inscription, Eight-Pointed Star over Δ. On r., outside the inscription, A.

CLXV.—*316.* Brussels, Baron de Hirsch, ↑, gr. 17·015, **Plate XVI, 5.**
317. Newell (= Sambon Sale, Paris, May 26, 1925, no. 213), ↑, gr. 16·97.
318. Newell, ↑, gr. 16·65.
CLXVI.—*319.* Newell, ↑, gr. 17·06, **Plate XVI, 6.**
CLXVII.—*320.* Newell, ↑, gr. 16·97, **Plate XVI, 7.**

161. Tetradrachm.

Similar but of very poor, almost barbaric style.	Similar, but of very poor style. On l., outside the inscription, Star. On r., outside the inscription, Δ (?).

CLXVIII.—*321.* London, ↑, gr. 16·86, **Plate XVI, 8.**

The first of these numbers comprises a very handsome group of coins, of which the London specimen (no. 161) is apparently a poor and perhaps an unofficial copy. As so very little of a definite character can be said about these coins it remains advisable not to suggest a mint name. The fixed die position, as well as the style, rather hints at some mint in Asia Minor. The position of the words in the legend and the accompanying type show that the coins must have been struck after 290 B.C.

BRONZE.

A. Caria (?).

Series I.

162. BRONZE HALF.

Youthful male head in crested Corinthian helmet to r.

B A above prow to r. Behind the prow, an *aplustre* upright. In front of the prow, DOUBLE AXE. Beneath the prow, Ⱥ.

α. Newell, ↓, gr. 2·12, **Plate XVII, 1.**
β. „ ↓, gr. 3·43.
γ. „ ↖, gr. 2·44.
δ. London, ↖, gr. 2·69.
ε. „ ↓, gr. 3·10.
ϝ. „ ↘, gr. 2·53.
ζ. Athens, ↓, gr. 2·30.
η. „ ↑, gr. 1·70.
θ. „ ↓, gr. 2·85.
ι. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↖, gr. 2·76.
κ. „ v. Rauch, ↘, gr. 2·21.
λ. Glasgow, Hunter, no. 18, ↖, gr. 2·46.

Series II.

163. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but without the *aplustre*. In front of the prow, DOUBLE AXE. Beneath the prow, Ⱥ.

α. London, ←, gr. 2·20.
β. „ ↖, gr. 3·07.
γ. „ ↖, gr. 2·45.
δ. „ →, gr. 2·25.
ε. „ ↑, gr. 2·99.
ϝ. „ ↑, gr. 2·59.
ζ. „ ↑, gr. 2·41.
η. „ ↑, gr. 2·36.
θ. Paris, 1368, ↓, gr. 2·08.
ι. „ 1369, ↖, gr. 2·18.
κ. „ 1369*a*, ↑, gr. 2·70.
λ. „ 1369*b*, ↑, gr. 2·20.
μ. „ 1375*a*, ↑, gr. 2·77.
ν. Munich. See footnote.
ξ. Newell, ↖, gr. 2·76, **Plate XVII, 2** (obverse).
ο. Newell, ↑, gr. 2·17, **Plate XVII, 2** (reverse).
π. „ ↑, gr. 2·55.
ρ. „ ↖, gr. 2·35.
σ. „ ↖, gr. 2.27.
τ. Berlin, Fox, ↑, gr. 2·52.
υ. „ Imhoof-Blumer, ↖, gr. 3·00.
φ. „ Prokesch-Osten, ↑, gr. 2·70.
χ. „ v. Gansauge, ↖, gr. 1·90.
ψ. „ ↑, gr. 3·16.
ω. Athens, ↖, gr. 2·80.
αα. „ ↑, gr. 2·42.
ββ. „ ↖, gr. 2·67.
γγ. „ ↑, gr. 2·85.
δδ. „ ↑, gr. 2·45.
εε. „ ↑, gr. 1·94.
ϝϝ. „ ↓, gr. 2·33.
ζζ. „ ↖, gr. 2·40.

N.B.—Three specimens in Munich are all from dies placed ↑↑.

ηη. Athens, ↓, gr. 2·89.
θθ. „ ↑, gr. 1·60.
ιι. „ ↑, gr. 2·42.
κκ. Athens, ↑, gr. 2·19.
λλ. Newell, ↑, gr. 2·51.
μμ. London (recent acquisition), ↑.

164. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar to the preceding. Ornamented trident flanked by the letters B A. To l. of handle, Ⱥ; to r., DOUBLE AXE.

α. Newell (= Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2180), ↑, gr. 1·94, **Plate XVII, 3.**
β. „ ↓, gr. 1·57.
γ. „ ↑, gr. 1·19.

165. BRONZE QUARTER (or SIXTH ?).

Similar to the preceding. *Aplustre* between the letters B A. On l., Ⱥ; on r., DOUBLE AXE.

α. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↓, gr. 1·25, **Plate XVII, 4.**

Series III.

166. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Poseidon to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the l. Athena Promachus advancing to r., holding a shield before her and brandishing a spear in her upraised r. Behind, Ⱥ; before, DOUBLE AXE.

α. Newell, ↑, gr. 4·72, **Plate XVII, 5.**
β. „ ↑, gr. 4·98.
γ. London, ↑, gr. 3·99.
δ. Athens, ↑, gr. 4·72.
ε. „ ↑, gr. 4·64.
ζ. E. S. G. Robinson, ↑, gr. 3·93.
η. Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2176, ↑, gr. 4.86, Plate 84.
θ. Empedocles, ↑.
ι. Paris, ↑, 3·94.

167. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding. B A above prow to r. In front of the prow, DOUBLE AXE. Beneath the prow, Ⱥ.

α. Newell, ↑, gr. 2·54, **Plate XVII, 6.**
β. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↑, gr. 2·65.
γ. „ Imhoof-Blumer, ↑, gr. 2·50.
δ. „ Prokesch - Osten, ↑, gr. 2·69.
ε. London, ↑, gr. 2·14.
ζ. „ ↑, gr. 2·24.
η. „ ↑, gr. 1·88.
θ. Athens, ↑, gr. 2·37.
ι. „ ↑, gr. 2·50.
κ. Paris, ↑, gr. 2·85.

168. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar to the preceding. Ornamented trident upright between the letters B A. Below, on l., ; on r., DOUBLE AXE.

a. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↖, gr. 2·00, **Plate XVII, 7.**

169. BRONZE SIXTH.

Similar to the preceding. *Aplustre* upright, flanked by the letters B A. Below, on l., ; on r., DOUBLE AXE.

a. London, ↑, gr. 1·13, **Plate XVII, 8.**

B.

Another Mint in Caria (?).

Series I.

170. BRONZE HALF.

Youthful male head, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, to r. B A above prow to r. In front of the prow, DOUBLE AXE. Beneath the prow, DOLPHIN to r.

a. Oxford, Ashmolean, ↑, **Plate XVII, 9.**

Series II.

171. BRONZE HALF.

Laureate head of Poseidon to r. B A above prow to r. Beneath the prow, DOLPHIN.

a. Oxford, Ashmolean, ↘, **Plate XVII, 10.**

C.

Uncertain Mint in Asia Minor (?).

172. BRONZE HALF.

Youthful male head, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, to r. B A above prow to r. Beneath the prow, .

a. Cambridge, MacClean Coll., ↓, gr. 4·12, **Plate XVII, 11.**

β. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↖, gr. 4·00.

γ. „ Imhoof-Blumer, ↘, gr. 2·91 (cleaned).

173. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Same monogram.

a. London, ↓, gr. 2·31, **Plate XVII, 12.**

β. Munich, ↓, gr. 1·93.

D.

Uncertain Mint in Asia Minor (?).

174. BRONZE HALF.

Youthful male head, wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a large A, to r.

Similar to the preceding. In front of the prow, GOAT'S HEAD. The whole surrounded by a dotted circle.

a. Newell (= Sir H. Weber Coll., no. 2278), ↖, gr. 2·33, **Plate XVII, 13.**

β. Athens, ↑, gr. 2·42.

γ. „ ↑, gr. 1·77.

In this chapter have been assembled the remaining bronze coinages of Demetrius. In our present state of knowledge (or rather, ignorance), their assignment to definite mints is either quite impossible or so fraught with doubts and difficulties as to be impracticable of accomplishment. This will only be possible when a larger number of statistics regarding find-spots and occurrences in hoards will have been gathered. For the moment, then, we will confine our efforts to giving a catalogue of such material as is at present available, to presenting the few statistics which we have been able to gather, and to describing and commenting upon such hints as they or the coins themselves offer concerning possible mints and dates. The future may make available more data upon which a judgement, more reasonably sure of correctness, can be based.

The material[1] at our disposal has been divided into eight groups, lettered A to H inclusive, each group representing, probably, the issues of a single mint. We will first proceed to discuss groups A to D inclusive, as they appear to constitute a series apart from the remainder. For they are all of somewhat similar fabric, and present a series of similar types throughout. They probably originated in one general district, though they appear to be the issues of as many as four different mints.

A correct attribution of this particular group of coins is indeed a problem difficult of solution. In the science of ancient numismatics

[1] The majority of these types were assembled and discussed by Imhoof-Blumer in the *Rev. Suisse de Num.*, vol. xiv, 1908, pp. 154 ff. He did not attempt to assign any of these coins to definite mints.

it has proved a moderately safe rule to follow that bronze coins are seldom found at any great distance from their original place of mint-age. Therefore, if the greater proportion of find-spots of any one type of coin should consistently point to one particular district, it is practically certain that the coins in question must once have been struck and circulated in that place. With certain of Demetrius' bronze coins (such as no. 20 for Cyprus, nos. 34 and 40 for Cilicia, nos. 125–33 for Macedonia) this axiom is found to be absolutely true. Theoretically it should also be true of nos. 162–74, but, actually, the known find-spots and source of provenance of these particular coins point most disconcertingly in all directions. To enumerate: no. 163 *β* to *δ* came from the Woodhouse Collection principally formed on the island of Corfu; no. 162 *θ* [2] came to the Athens Collection in a lot of bronze coins of Macedonia and central Greece, but of which by far the largest group were coins of Ambracia; 163 *αα* was found in the excavations at Delphi; 163 *ββ* (together with two Arcadian, one Mantineian, two Sicyonian, and six Corinthian coins) came from the excavations at Thisse near Orchomenus; 163 *γγ* was found at the Piraeus; 163 *εε*, *FF* were among a lot of coins seized by the Greek government and supposed to have come from Tripolis in Arcadia; 163 *ιι*, *κκ* were found by the French School during their excavations at Orchomenus; 174 *γ* came from the excavations at Thermus in Aetolia; 166 *ζ* came from the Palmer Collection formed in the vicinity of Gallipoli; 166 *γ* and *η* were purchased from Louisides of Macri (Lycia); 163 *F* was brought back from Lycia by Fellowes; Sir Herman Weber purchased a specimen similar to no. 163 at Smyrna; 164 *α* was also purchased by Sir H. Weber at Smyrna; 163 λλ was picked up by Richard Norton in Asia Minor; and, finally, 163 *μμ* turned up in the Parry collection which was formed on the north-west frontier of India! We are thus considerably more embarrassed than assisted by our list of find-spots.

Let us see what the coins themselves are able to offer. We will

[2] For many years a careful record has been kept at Athens of the various sources from which specimens in the National Collection have come. To these records the curious are referred concerning the specimens mentioned in our text. The particular references to the record-books are as follows: 162 *θ* = 1907–8, ΜΘ′, no. 3; 163 *αα* = 1905–6, ΙΖ′, no. 257; 163 *ββ* = 1911–12, no. 13; 163 *γγ* = 1910–11, ΚΕ′, no. 34; 163 *εε*, *FF* = 1892–3, ΚΘ′, nos. 64, 65; 163 *ιι*, *κκ* = 1913–14, ΟΓ′, nos. 2, 3; 174 *γ* = 1911–12, ΛΔ′, no. 31.

commence with the largest group, A, which consists of three consecutive series, undoubtedly the issues of a single mint. Throughout, the coins are of identical style and fabric, and all bear the monogram $\overline{\text{AP}}$ accompanied by the symbol of the Double Axe. In the first two series the obverse type for all denominations is that of a youthful male head wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, such as we have already met with on Demetrius' bronze issues for Tarsus and Salamis. For these two issues the chief denomination is a coin whose mean average weight is about 2·45 grammes and which we have tentatively named the 'half' because of its analogy to nos. 34 and 40 of the Tarsus mint. The smaller denominations are distinguished by their reverse types, trident or *aplustre*. The third series invariably has Poseidon's head for its obverse type. Like the Tarsian group of bronze coins it possesses a large denomination, weighing in this case about 4·75 grammes, whose reverse type is Athena Promachus. The accompanying 'half' again has the prow on the reverse, while the smaller fractions likewise copy their corresponding predecessors of Series II in displaying the trident or the *aplustre* on their respective reverses.

The dies for the first issue of Group A were either loose or very erratically adjusted before striking. Of the eleven specimens listed, three show the position ↖ and one the position ↑. ↓ occurs once, and its two variants ↘ and ↙ occur twice and four times respectively. The succeeding issue, while offering us more variety in the actual die positions found, yet shows a greater *general* regularity. Of the forty-four specimens listed, twenty-two, or over half, show the definite position ↑. The variants to right or left account for fifteen more specimens (eleven with ↖, and four with ↗). The eccentric positions ← and → have only one each, ↙ has two examples, and ↓ has three. From this we may safely conclude that during the issue of Series II a conscious effort was made to keep the obverse and reverse dies approximately in the constant position ↑↑. As the dies, however, were probably not actually fixed in this position, inversions would be bound to occur from time to time in the hurry of striking. During the final issue (nos. 166–9) yet greater regularity was attained. In fact, the dies of the largest denomination (no. 166) appear to have been actually fixed in the position ↑↑. The dies of the ten specimens known to the writer all maintain this constant relation. In the smaller denomina-

tions, of the thirteen known specimens eleven have the position ↑. Its variant ↖ occurs twice, and ↗ only once. In summing up, then, it would seem as if our mint started off issuing coins whose dies were certainly not fixed, though there was a general tendency to maintain the upright position for both dies during the process of striking. In the course of the succeeding issues this position becomes more and more the dominant one, until, at the end, the dies appear to have been actually fixed. Now fixed or adjusted dies seem to have been the rule in Demetrius' Asiatic, as they were the exception in his Grecian mints. In fact, of all the western mints to which we have been able to assign coins, Chalcis alone shows a certain regularity in the position of her coin dies. On the whole, then, the die positions of nos. 162–9 point rather to Asia as the home land for these coins.

The Asiatic provenance of our coins is also supported by the fact that both types and denominations of Group A seem to have been modelled upon the bronze coinage for Tarsus (see above, Chapter V). Furthermore, the Athena Promachus appears on gold staters (no. 21) struck at Salamis in Cyprus, while the young helmeted head and the prow occur on contemporary bronze issues of that same city. None of these types appears on any other of the coinages which Demetrius is known to have struck west of the Aegean. If an Asiatic origin is granted, then the DOUBLE AXE symbol, which occurs throughout the issue, at once suggests Caria[3] as the probable site of the mint itself. Over this province we know that Demetrius maintained a hold at least until the fatal year 294 B. C., when Caria appears to have been seized by Lysimachus. Throughout this time it was of the utmost importance to him, for we know that he had a powerful naval station at Caunus. This stronghold itself he may have held even after 294 B. C.,[4] certainly he possessed it again in 286 B. C., for Plutarch tells us that at the last moment Demetrius was anxious to break through the encircling armies in the hopes of reaching Caunus

[3] In Caria the double axe constituted the peculiar attribute of the local god, Zeus Ladabrandeus. The symbol, therefore, frequently occurs on the coins of the kings of Caria, either as a main type or held in the hand of the god himself. It further occurs frequently as a symbol on Alexander coins struck in this province, and, later, as a type on the autonomous coinages of Mylasa, Halicarnassus, &c. See also Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xii, p. 304.

[4] Tarn, *Antigonus*, p. 105, n. 33.

where he expected to join his fleet. Caunus must therefore have still been in his possession.

An assignment of our coins to Caria, primarily suggested by the presence on them of the DOUBLE AXE, is furthermore supported by the style and fabric of the coins themselves. The coinage of the local dynasts of Caria and the large succeeding issues bearing the name and types of Alexander the Great are distinguished by a certain elegance of fabric and delicacy of relief and execution which marks them out from among other contemporaneous coinages.[5] Especially is this true of the Carian bronze coinages of the last quarter of the fourth century B. C.[6] To the writer's mind these same characteristics are found conspicuously present in the group of coins described above, thus linking them with preceding Carian issues. The flans are smooth and flat, perfectly round, and very neatly made. The designs are delicately executed in noticeably low relief. The dies are for the most part placed ↑, and this again is rather typical of Carian issues from comparatively early times. All the coins of the local satraps, struck in Carian mints, show the die position ↑, and the same is true for the succeeding Alexander issues. We have also had occasion to note that the upright position of the dies is the usual custom for the coins (nos. 47–50) which we are certain were actually struck by Demetrius at Miletus in Caria. These, too, bear the characteristic emblem of the DOUBLE AXE. Do nos. 162–9, then, represent the accompanying bronze issues? The presence on all coins, gold, silver, and bronze, of the same symbol—the DOUBLE AXE—would seem to suggest this. The associated monograms, however, vary—or is the $\overline{\text{AP}}$ of the bronzes merely a simplification of the Ⓐ which appears on the larger coins? Thus, numerous technical considerations point to Caria as the original home of our bronze coins.

On the other hand, in our enumeration of sources of actual specimens, it is to be noted that three (no. 163 ββ, ιι, κκ) come from actual excavations made in the neighbourhood of Orchomenus in

[5] Newell, 'Alexander Hoards, Demanhur', in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 19. p. 15.

[6] Among the bronze coins struck in Carian mints should be placed Müller nos. 569, 1711. To these should be added no. 76 *a* on Plate XXVIII of his coins of Philip III, and the well-known coin struck in Caria by Eupolemus.

Arcadia, and that two more (no. 163 ϵϵ, *FF*) are supposed to have come from Tripolitsa, also in Arcadia. This is strikingly definite as against the rather vague Asiatic provenance of nos. 163 λλ, 164 *α*, 166 *γ*, *F*, *η*. We might have passed over this Arcadian provenance on the grounds that such pieces may have been chance coins brought from Asia by Demetrius' soldiers campaigning in the Peloponnesus, were it not for the fact that some of the contemporaneous autonomous issues of Tegea and Mantineia show startlingly close resemblances in types and style to our Demetrian bronze coins. Compare for instance the youthful male helmeted head on nos. 162–5 with the head of Athena on the Tegean bronze coin in the Sir Herman Weber Collection, Plate 158, no. 4350, or the British Museum Catalogue, *Peloponnesus*, Plate XXXVII, 17. Our coin no. 164 has also a most deceptive resemblance to a certain Mantineian bronze piece bearing identically the same types (British Museum Catalogue, *Peloponnesus*, p. 186, nos. 20–3). So close is this resemblance that the writer recently made the discovery that he had actually placed two worn specimens of the Demetrius' coin in his Mantineian series mistaking them for coins of that city. Another Mantineian issue of the third century B. C. bears a Zeus' head almost identical in style and appearance with the Poseidon head on nos. 166–9. Thus, find-spots and the imitative types of neighbouring cities would strongly suggest a Peloponnesian origin for nos. 162–9. In that case the double axe symbol would probably have no local significance, but represents instead a mark of control, perhaps the personal symbol of the magistrate in charge of the coinage. The constant presence of the monogram $\overline{\text{AP}}$ probably has the same explanation, though it does make us think, in this case, of the ☙ so constantly found on Arcadian federal coinages.

Now a coinage of Demetrius in Arcadia, or in neighbouring Argolis, would be no anomaly. He long maintained a strong hold on these districts, both as a base of operations as well as a continual protection against his great enemy Sparta.[7] It would be quite natural, therefore, to find a mint here striking his coins.

Nevertheless, to the writer at least, an Asiatic origin for nos. 162–9 seems to present more convincing arguments, in spite of

[7] Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7.

certain Arcadian find-spots and the curiously close similarity of some Tegean and Mantineian autonomous issues. Furthermore, some of our specimens have actually been found in Asia. Now it is more likely that coins would have been brought from Asia to Greece than vice versa. And we have also learned that down to the year 295–294 B. C. it was Demetrius' Asiatic mints that were coining his money. There could have been but little coined in the west until his seizure of Macedonia. His mints in Greece proper apparently did not open until some three years later. Until 294 B. C., then, the money for the payment of his troops must have come from Asia. Also, until the loss of his Asiatic dominions and their replacement by Macedonia, Demetrius probably drew many recruits from amongst the Asiatic Greeks. These must have carried over with them from their homes or their garrison stations a considerable amount of small change. In the third century B. C. the flow of money was all from Asia to the Peloponnesus, and not in the opposite direction. Peloponnesian coins are almost never found in Asia, while coins of Asiatic origin continually turn up in Peloponnesian hoards.[8] Thus is easily explained the finding of many of Demetrius' bronze coins in Arcadia, a district where he must have maintained several standing garrisons. The cities of Tegea and Mantineia apparently found it to their advantage to imitate more or less closely the coins commonly in circulation among the troops of occupation.

If the coins of Group A are to be assigned to some mint in south-western Asia Minor, then it follows that Groups B, C, and D were also struck there. Nos. 172 and 173 are struck on small thick planchets, but in type and style they are not unlike nos. 162 and 163. In fabric, as well as in types and style, nos. 170, 171, and 174 are very similar to the issues of Group A.

Too few specimens of nos. 170–1 have survived for us to learn much from the relative position of their dies. The dies of nos. 172–3 appear to be loose, while those of no. 174 appear to have been adjusted to a generally upright position. The finding of one of these latter pieces (174 γ) in Aetolia is counterbalanced by the

[8] See S. P. Noe, 'A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 25. Note in particular the hoards of Sophikon, Epidaurus, Sparta, &c. See Newell, 'The Andritsaena Hoard', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 21, p. 26, and foot-note 8.

reported purchase of another (174 *a*) in Smyrna. On no. 174 the peculiar and conspicuous position of the large A on the helmet may characterize this letter as a true mint mark. The position is not likely to have been chosen for a magistrate's initial. If nos. 162–9 are to be assigned to Miletus, then the present coin might have been struck at Ἀ(λικαρνασσός). If A is not a mint letter, then it may have stood for Ἀ(λέξανδρος) or Ἀ(θήνη), according as one recognizes Alexander or Athena [9] in the youthful helmeted head of the obverse.

BRONZE (*continued*).

E. (Hellespontine Region ?).

175. BRONZE (Unit).

Prow to l. On the forecastle, KI (or is it NI?). The whole in a dotted circle.

On r., ΒΑΣΙ. In the exergue, ΔΗΜ. Poseidon, entirely nude, striding to l., brandishing a trident in his upraised r. In l. field, CADUCEUS.

a. Braunschweig, **Plate XVII, 14.**

F. (Hellespontine Region ?).

176. BRONZE (Unit).

Head of Athena wearing a crested Attic helmet, to r. The whole in a dotted circle.

ΒΑΣΙ above, ΔΗΜΗ beneath a prow to l., on whose forecastle the letters KI.

a. London, gr. 7·13, **Plate XVII, 15.**

177. BRONZE (Unit).

Similar.

Similar, but the prow is to r. On the forecastle, KI.

a. Munich, ↑, gr. 6·64, **Plate XVII, 16.**

178. BRONZE (Quarter).

Similar.

Β Α above. ΔΗ beneath ship's rostra to r.

a. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↑, gr. 1·48, **Plate XVII, 17.**

Groups E and F may belong together because of the letters KI which are displayed on the majority of the coins. No. 178 has been included because of the great similarity which its Athena head holds

[9] Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 230.

to the head of the same goddess on nos. 176 and 177. As this head possesses strong stylistic affinities with an Athena head found on certain bronze coins of Lysimachus,[10] we are perhaps justified in locating our coins in the neighbourhood of Thrace or of north-western Asia Minor—districts where Lysimachus ruled and where he struck his bronze coinages. We have already called attention to the fact that at one period of his reign Demetrius was active with his fleet in the Hellespontine regions (see above, Chapter VIII, p. 76). The letters KI on the forecastles of the prows suggest that this bronze coinage might have been struck at Cius, to the reverse type of whose silver coinage these prows bear a great resemblance (compare **Plate XVIII, 12**). The attribution, however, in the absence of known find-spots or other more definite criteria, remains highly conjectural.

BRONZE (*continued*).

G. (Macedonia or Greece ?).

179. BRONZE (Unit).

Prow to l. — ΔHM BAΣ in two lines beneath Demetrius on prancing horse to l. His r. hand is raised and is about to hurl a javelin at the forepart of a lion or boar on the l.

a. Berlin, Löbbecke, ↓, gr. 6·02, **Plate XVII, 18**.

180. BRONZE (Unit).

Prow to l. between BAΣI above, and ΔHMH below. — Demetrius, in *kausia* and mantle, and holding a couched spear, on prancing horse to r. Below, ⋀.

a. Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer, ↖, gr. 6·84, **Plate XVII, 19**.
β. Berlin (monogram barely visible), ↑, gr. 6·40.
γ. Athens, no. 1616, ↖, gr. 6·70.

H. (Macedonia ?).

181. BRONZE (Half).

Macedonian shield adorned with an eight-pointed star on its boss. — BAΣIΛEΩΣ ΔHMHTPIOY around a crested Macedonian helmet. On the l., ⋈.

[10] L. Müller, *Die Münzen des Thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, nos. 61–3, 71–84, 113, and 319.

α. London, gr. 4·21, **Plate XVII, 20.**
β. London, gr. 4·03.
γ. „ gr. 3·93.
δ. „ gr. 3·90.
ε. „ gr. 3·60.
ζ. „ gr. 3·56.
ζ. „ gr. 3·54.
η. Berlin, Fox, gr. 3·24.
θ. „ Imhoof-Blumer, gr. 4·36.
ι. „ v. Rauch, gr. 4.60.
κ. „ v. Gansauge, gr. 3·62.
λ. „ Fox, gr. 3·73.
μ. „ gr. 4·26.
ν. Newell, gr. 3·29.
ξ. „ gr. 3·00.

182. BRONZE (Quarter or Sixth).

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.
Berlin, gr. 1·00, **Plate XVII, 21.**
„ Imhoof-Blumer, gr. 1·01, **Plate XVII, 22.**
„ Prokesch-Osten, gr. 0·89.
London, gr. 1·10.

The horseman types of nos. 179–80 suggest Macedonia. The shield and helmet coins (nos. 181–2), because of their types, are probably also Macedonian, though we possess no provenance notices to support such an attribution. As a large series of bronze coins (nos. 125–33) has already been assigned to the Amphipolis mint, the present coins, especially nos. 181–2, if Macedonian at all, are probably of the Pella mint. It would be desirable for museums and collectors to make note of the probable provenance of all specimens that may be offered them. Only in this way will it ever be possible to establish the true mints of the bronze coins described above.

XV

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. Forgeries and Imitations.

Fortunately for all concerned, the issues of Demetrius Poliorcetes have not been extensively forged either in ancient or in more modern times. Only two plated (*fourrée*) specimens are known to the writer. Ancient forgers apparently found it more lucrative to concentrate their energies upon coins possessing a greater reputation and a wider circulation—such as the tetradrachms of Athens or the staters and tetradrachms of Alexander or of Philip. In addition, a few barbaric imitations, but of honest weight and alloy, appear to exist. Among these may perhaps be reckoned the tetradrachm illustrated on **Plate XIII, 12,** though on p. 114 are given reasons for supposing this coin to have been an official issue. **Plate XVI, 8** may be a barbaric copy of the immediately preceding specimens. What appear to be barbaric imitations also exist of the stater no. 37 (see **Plate XVIII, no. 15**). Similar pieces (**Plate XVIII, nos. 16–19**) have a more distinctly modern appearance. It seems a curious coincidence that of all Demetrius' coins this one variety should have been chosen as a model by both ancient and modern forgers. And, in fact, to the writer's mind at least, the antiquity of the specimen (**Plate XVIII, 15**) is not quite above suspicion.

Certainly modern are **nos. 20, 21,** and **22** of **Plate XVIII**. As these pieces have long been in their respective collections they were evidently—as their style would also suggest—made in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Their die-cutters were peculiarly unsuccessful in reproducing the style and fabric of Demetrius' genuine issues. They are very poor imitations and should deceive no one. Distinctly more dangerous are those from the great modern Athenian 'mint' of Christodoulos. Fortunately, casts from such dies of his as were seized by the Greek government are photographically repro-

duced for us in Svoronos' *Synopsis de Mille Coins faux du Faussaire C. Christodoulos*,[1] Plate D, nos. 110–14. It should be noted that these dies all show Christodoulos' typical style and technique, which, once seen, can hardly be mistaken. His Nike tetradrachms (nos. 113–14) are not over successful. The prow, Nike herself, and Poseidon are all poorly drawn and badly modelled. Instead of a monogram in the left field we find a simple H. No. 110 is more deceiving, but here, too, the monograms have not been correctly rendered. The reverse dies, nos. 111 and 112, are much more dangerous, and it is fortunate that collectors now have Svoronos' plates at their disposal. Although for other series, Svoronos' work does not by any means contain reproductions of *all* Christodoulos' nefarious handiwork, with regard to the Demetrius series the writer chances to know of no further specimens except those illustrated by Svoronos. Although Christodoulos has now passed away, unfortunately the prevailing high prices secured for coins of Demetrius will probably induce other forgers to take up the work where he left off.

B. Hoards.

In numismatic literature there have been but comparatively few hoards described which have contained coins of Demetrius the Besieger. On the whole, from such hoards as have been published, there is little to be learned concerning his issues. It is to be hoped that future finds will prove both more extensive and more instructive.

The most important of the known finds is the so-called Salonica hoard which has already been described and discussed on p. 117. It will suffice to say here that it was largely composed of Alexander the Great, Philip III, and Lysimachus tetradrachms. In addition, it contained at least seven tetradrachms of Demetrius, all in fine condition and bearing the reverse type of Poseidon standing with his right foot upon a rock. Three of these coins were from the Pella mint, three from that of Amphipolis, and one from an uncertain mint, probably in Euboea. As one of the Lysimachian tetradrachms was also of the Amphipolis mint the hoard must have been buried after the incorporation of Macedonia into the Thracian Empire, that is, after

[1] Also in *Journ. Int. Num. d'Arch.*, xx, 1920–1, Plate D, 110–14

circa 287–286 B.C. The burial, however, probably took place but a short time after that event, as only one specimen of a very large issue was present, and this one in a brilliant state of preservation. It is interesting to note that the coins of Alexandrine types (including those with the name of Philip III) may be divided among the following mints: Amphipolis (40); various Macedonian and Peloponnesian mints (6); Asia Minor, including one[2] of Miletus (17); Cyprus (8); Babylon (21); Persia (2); Syria and Phoenicia (23); Egypt (2). In other words, seventy-three as against forty-six come from eastern mints. Previous to 294 B.C. these eastern issues would be exactly the kind of currency employed by Demetrius' paymasters and in circulation among his troops. A large proportion of the varieties were actually those coined in the east during the last years of Antigonus' and the first years of his son's reign. In addition, the hoard shows conclusively that even in Macedonia the bulk of the circulating medium at the end of Demetrius' reign was still largely composed of the Alexander type of coin—and this in spite of the large number of his own numerary which Demetrius had caused to be struck at Pella and at Amphipolis.

Next in order of interest come the two Kililer hoards[3] now in the Athens National Collection. As everything speaks in favour of these really having formed only one hoard, they will be treated as such here. The modern town of Kililer is situated about fifteen miles south-west of Larissa in Thessaly. As was the case with the Salonica hoard, the present one also contained a single specimen of Lysimachus' issues at Amphipolis, which speaks for a burial after 285 B.C. It furthermore contained two of Demetrius' tetradrachms, our nos. 75 and 84. Both of these coins are of the Pella mint, as is only to be expected from a hoard buried in Thessaly. Of the Alexanders we again find the following proportions: Amphipolis (23); Pella (1); Sicyon (1); Asia Minor, including two of Miletus (Müller no. 1136) as at Salonica (11); Cyprus (2); Babylon, including two of Seleucus I (10); Persia (1); Syria and Phoenicia (12); together with several unidentifiable issues. Again we find a greater proportion of eastern over western Alexanders.

[2] Müller, no. 1136.

[3] See S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, p. 108.

From the Peloponnesus we possess records of three hoards, one[4] found by the British School at Sparta, one found at Epidaurus,[5] and the third[6] discovered at Sophiko near Epidaurus. The Spartan hoard contained two Amphipolitan tetradrachms of Demetrius (our nos. 115, 124) and one of his Nike tetradrachms from Salamis (our no. 15). The Sophiko hoard, on the other hand, contained no tetradrachms, only the fractions such as our Ephesian hemidrachm no. 58 and the Tarsian drachm (no. 44) and hemidrachm (no. 45). For our purposes there is little to be drawn from these hoards as they are of a comparatively late burial, that is, from the last half of the third century B.C.

The Epidaurus hoard, however, was buried about the time of Demetrius' death, or a little later. Like the Sparta hoard its Demetrian tetradrachms are all of the Amphipolis mint (our nos. 94, 110, 124). Accompanying them was also a hemidrachm[7] of the Nike type from the mint at Tarsus (our no. 45). As is only to be expected, a number of the Alexander tetradrachms are of Peloponnesian mints. Among the Asiatic issues we find a tetradrachm of Miletus (Müller, no. 1136) similar to the ones occurring in the Salonica and Kililer finds. There is also a drachm from the same mint under Demetrius —our no. 49. One tetradrachm of Lysimachus (Keramopoullos, no. 3) is from the Amphipolitan mint and so serves to date the burial of the hoard as after 285 B.C.

Of eastern hoards we have only one recorded in detail. At Sardis the American excavators found a deposit beneath the statue base in the temple of Artemis.[8] Among various tetradrachms of Alexander, Philip III, Lysimachus, Antigonus Gonatas, Eumenes II, Seleucus I, Antiochus I, II, and III, was also found a Nike tetradrachm of Demetrius from the Tarsus mint (our no. 38). Another hoard,[9] composed chiefly of Alexandrine and Seleucid tetradrachms,

[4] S. P. Noe, *ibid.*, p. 197; A. J. B. Wace, *Annual Brit. School at Athens*, v, 14, 1907–8, p. 149.

[5] S. P. Noe, *ibid.*, p. 89; A. D. Keramopoullos, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1903, p. 97.

[6] J. N. Svoronos, *Journ. Int. Num. d'Arch.*, ii, 1899, p. 289; viii, 1905, p. 115; x, 1907, pp. 35–46.

[7] Keramopoullos, *op. cit.*, p. 113, mistakenly calls this a 'diobol'.

[8] *Publ. Am. Soc. for the Excav. of Sardis*, vol. xi, Part I, 1910–14, Introduction, pp. v ff.

[9] S. P. Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

was acquired by the present writer in 1920. Nothing more definite is known than that it came through the hands of M. Gejou, the well-known oriental dealer residing in Paris, and is said to have been found somewhere in Mesopotamia. It contained tetradrachms (as well as drachms) of Alexander, Philip III, Lysimachus, Eumenes I, Seleucus I and II, Antiochus I and II, and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Among these issues the latest in date are the coins of Eumenes I (263–241 B.C.), and certain of the latest issues of Seleucus II from his mint at Antioch. The hoard must have been buried, then, not earlier than *circa* 230 B.C. and possibly as late as the reign of Seleucus III (226–223 B.C.). The five coins of Demetrius comprised a Nike tetradrachm of Ephesus (our no. 51), two portrait tetradrachms of Thebes (our no. 141), and two of Amphipolis (nos. 116 and 117).

With respect to hoards containing gold coins we have records of only one, the Anadol hoard, found in Bessarabia in 1895.[10] This contained a specimen of the Pella issue no. 65 and another of Amphipolis, no. 93.

Very little, and that only of a general nature, can be deduced from evidence furnished by these hoards. Demetrius' issues circulated, not in large numbers but widely, in both eastern Europe and western Asia. But apparently neither his silver nor his gold coins ever found the favour enjoyed by those of Alexander, which at this time absolutely dominated the markets of the eastern Mediterranean.

C. Résumé.

In the course of our studies we have described and discussed *seriatim* the 182 known varieties of the coins struck by Demetrius the Besieger. It might now be well to present, as briefly as possible, a survey of his coinage as a whole. In this way we may the more quickly grasp the sequence of its types, the extent of its circulation, and the position it held with respect to the other currencies of the time.

We have learned the fact that Demetrius struck no coins in his own name—or, for that matter, in the name of his father Antigonus—until he became sole ruler in consequence of the battle of Ipsus.

[10] S. P. Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 23; E. Pridik, 'Statères d'or trouvés à Anadol', in *Bull. de la Comm. Imp. Archéol.*, iii, pp. 58–92.

Such coins as he had perhaps previously struck by virtue of his *imperium* in the field, had all been of the pure Alexander type, in strict conformity with his father's practice and general policy. Once firmly established in his empire of the sea, with the equilibrium so badly upset at Ipsus again restored, Demetrius followed the example set by certain of his contemporaries [11] and commenced to strike coins, at first in silver, then also in gold, bearing his own name and types. These types ostentatiously bore direct reference to his resounding naval victory over Ptolemy six years before. They also served to advertise his present powerful position as the actual ruler of the eastern seas. Appropriately enough, these particular coins were first struck at Salamis in Cyprus, the city off whose port the great victory had been won. At this time Salamis might with some justice be said to have constituted Demetrius' capital. It certainly was the place where he kept his treasure, the *arx*, the central pivot and mainstay of his empire in the east.

At first his other active mints were slow to adopt the new types. Tyre, the great fortress of Phoenicia, apparently never did. She clung tenaciously to the old Alexander type as if she would keep ever green the memory of her great conqueror, as if his name and types upon her coinage, acting as an ever present amulet, would serve to protect her commerce and to ward off catastrophes such as he had brought upon her. Probably, however, only the more prosaic considerations of commercial expediency dictated her long retention of the types of Alexander. His name, too, remained until almost the very end. Only on the last issues, just before the city deserted his failing cause, does the name of Demetrius finally usurp the place so long graced by that of Alexander.

Next to Salamis it was Ephesus which supplied the bulk of the coinage bearing Demetrius' Nike type. The remaining mints in the east, such as Miletus and Tarsus, certainly favoured the Alexander type, although a few rare specimens of the Nike tetradrachms do occur here. On the other hand, Tarsus was especially active in the production of small denominations, the single and the half drachm, bearing the Nike type. Ephesus also issued a large number of these denominations, graced, not by Nike on her prow,

[11] For instance, Lysimachus and Ptolemy Soter.

but by a most life-like portrait of Demetrius. Such on the whole were the coinages with which Demetrius for the first six years of his reign (300–294 B.C.) maintained his scattered armies, his numerous garrisons, and, last but not least, his all-powerful fleet.

With the loss of practically all his Asiatic possessions in 294 B.C., Demetrius was thrown back upon the resources of Greece proper. To be sure, he still held one of his eastern mints, Tyre—but this fortress was now merely an outpost all but surrounded by his enemies. Coins could be—and were—still struck here, but in ever diminishing quantities. Only her own local needs could be met. Certainly Demetrius' paymasters in Greece could not and would not now be dependent upon her for the necessary supplies of coined money. That this estimate of Tyre's position is the true one her coinages clearly show.[12]

As stated above, Demetrius was now dependent upon Greece proper for his resources. But up to this moment no coinages in his name seem to have appeared there—at least no specimens have as yet been found. The current coin was principally supplied by such centres as Corinth or Athens (using their own autonomous types), by obsolete issues (Boeotia, Aegina, Sicyon) still in circulation, or by that immense quantity of Alexander money from all quarters of east and north which seems to have been steadily flowing into Greece for upwards of a generation.[13] If any mints were coining royal money for Demetrius they must have used the old Alexander type.

The sudden acquisition of Macedonia, with its rich mines and two well-equipped mints, occasioned an immediate change. Demetrius seized upon this opportunity to inaugurate a coinage of his own in the west. At first the issues of Pella and Amphipolis were modelled after a pattern previously set by his Asiatic mints. The gold staters still bore the Alexander types, but now, in every case, inscribed with Demetrius' own name. The accompanying silver issues bore the Nike and the fighting Poseidon types. On the

[12] Newell, *Tyrus Rediviva*, 1923, *passim*.

[13] What was commonly current in Greece between 315 and 295 B.C. is shown by such hoards as that of Andritsaena (315 B.C.), or of Lamia (308 B.C.), see S. P. Noe, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23 and 113. Portions of three other unpublished hoards in the writer's possession confirm this evidence.

other hand, unlike the practice followed at so many of the eastern mints, there was now no accompanying issue of the Alexander tetradrachm.

Very soon, about 292 B.C., another and very definite change takes place. Demetrius' own portrait now appears on the obverses of the tetradrachms, while a seated, and later a standing Poseidon graces the reverses. With the introduction of this the final type, a corresponding change is also made in the gold issues. The Alexander types are finally dispensed with in favour of Demetrius' own diademed portrait, the charging Macedonian horseman (Demetrius himself?) appearing on the reverse. Thus Demetrius definitely breaks with the Alexander tradition and boldly makes his coinage stand upon its own merits. That he was actually attempting to supplant the Alexander currency with his own is quite consistent with his character and policy during the final years of his reign. This supposition is further supported by the appearance of ever increasing quantities of his money issued from Pella and Amphipolis, coupled with the fact that all his remaining mints (Thebes, Demetrias, Chalcis, Sicyon, and others as yet unidentified) were now also coining exclusively with his types. But the time still left to him proved too short for the successful fruition of his plans. The great preparations, of which an increased coinage was but a part, only served to hasten the final end. Warned, the coalition of his enemies struck before Demetrius was quite ready.

With his capture and subsequent death the extensive and interesting coinages which bore his name and types came to a definite end. Unlike the issues of his great adversaries Lysimachus, Seleucus, or Ptolemy, his own never succeeded in capturing the fancies of barbarian imitators, nor were they ever again revived by his descendants, although the Antigonide dynasty survived his fall by many generations. His coinage stands alone, as varied, as fascinating, as ephemeral as Demetrius' own career.

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	12	,,	Berlin.
	13	Hemidrachm	Newell.
	14	Drachm	Berlin.
	15	Hemidrachm	Berlin.
	16	Drachm	London.
	17	Stater	Newell.
	18	,,	Athens.
	19	Tetradrachm	Berlin.
	20	Drachm	Newell.
	21	Tetradrachm	Berlin.
	22	Stater	Paris.
	23	Tetradrachm	Newell.

PLATE V

No.			
1	Stater	Leningrad.	
2	Tetradrachm	Cambridge.	
3	,,	Newell.	
4	,,	Paris.	
5	,,	Commerce.	
6	,,	London.	
7	,,	Glasgow.	
8	,,	Empedocles.	
9	Tetradrachm	Dresden.	
10	,,	Athens.	
11	,,	Munich.	
12	,,	Berlin.	
13	,,	Naples.	
14	,,	Paris.	
15	,,	London.	

PLATE VI

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	Berlin.	
2	Hemidrachm	Berlin.	
3	Drachm	Copenhagen.	
4	,,	Jameson.	
5	Hemidrachm	London.	
6	Drachm	Berlin.	
7	Hemidrachm	Berlin.	
8	Tetradrachm	Greene.	
9	Stater	Newell.	
10	Tetradrachm	Berlin.	
11	Bronze	Princeton.	
12	Tetradrachm	Saroglou.	
13	,,	Oman.	
14	Stater	Paris.	
15	Tetradrachm	Copenhagen.	
16	,,	Paris.	
17	,,	Newell.	
18	,,	London.	
19	Stater	Commerce.	
20	Tetradrachm	Commerce.	

PLATE VII

No.			
1	Stater	Athens.	
2	Tetradrachm	Commerce.	
3	,,	Newell.	
4	,,	Leningrad.	
5	,,	Newell.	
6	,,	Athens.	
7	,,	London.	
8	,,	Newell.	
9	,,	London.	
10	Stater	London.	
11	Tetradrachm	Newell.	
12	,,	Newell.	
13	,,	Commerce.	
14	,,	Newell.	
15	Stater	Brussels.	
16	Tetradrachm	Berlin.	
17	,,	London.	

PLATE VIII

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	London.	
2	Stater	London.	
3	,,	Commerce.	
4	Tetradrachm	London.	
5	,,	Newell.	
6	,,	Glasgow.	
7	,,	Newell.	
8	,,	Cambridge.	
9	,,	Glasgow.	
10	Tetradrachm	London.	
11	,,	Copenhagen.	
12	,,	Newell.	
13	,,	Washington.	
14	Stater	Leningrad.	
15	,,	Brussels.	
16	Tetradrachm	Berlin.	
17	,,	Paris.	

PLATE IX

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	Hague.	
2	,,	London.	
3	,,	Newell.	
4	,,	London.	
5	,,	Paris.	
6	,,	Paris.	
7	,,	Newell.	
8	,,	Jameson.	
9	Tetradrachm	Commerce.	
10	,,	Paris.	
11	,,	Copenhagen.	
12	,,	Empedocles.	
13	,,	Brussels.	
14	,,	London.	
15	,,	Naples.	

PLATE X

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	Brussels.	
2	,,	London.	
3	,,	Prowe Sale.	
4	,,	London.	
5	,,	Boston.	
6	,,	London.	
7	,,	Cambridge.	
8	Stater	Locker-Lampson.	
9	,,	Paris.	
10	,,	Berlin.	
11	Tetradrachm	Newell.	
12	,,	Vienna.	
13	,,	Weber.	
14	,,	Paris.	

PLATE XI

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	Giesecke.	
2	,,	Glasgow.	
3	,,	Lyons.	
4	,,	Empedocles.	
5	,,	Berlin.	
6	,,	Vienna.	
7	,,	Berlin.	
8	Tetradrachm	Cambridge.	
9	,,	Greene.	
10	,,	London.	
11	,,	Paris.	
12	,,	Munich.	
13	,,	Berlin.	
14	,,	Berlin.	

PLATE XII

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	Gotha.	
2	,,	Newell.	
3	,,	Newell.	
4	,,	London.	
5	,,	London.	
6	,,	Washington.	
7	,,	Berlin.	
8	Tetradrachm	Brussels.	
9	,,	Paris.	
10	,,	Berlin.	
11	,,	Brussels.	
12	,,	Mrs. Newell.	
13	,,	Turin.	
14	,,	Hague.	

PLATE XIII

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	London.	
2	,,	Boston.	
3	,,	Boston.	
4	,,	Brussels.	
5	,,	London.	
6	,,	Paris.	
7	,,	Commerce.	
8	,,	Paris.	
9	,,	Commerce.	
10	,,	Newell.	
11	Tetradrachm	Bauer.	
12	,,	Leningrad.	
13	Bronze	Newell.	
14	,,	Newell.	
15	,,	London.	
16	,,	Newell.	
17	,,	London.	
18	,,	London.	
19	,,	Newell.	

PLATE XIV

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	Bement Sale.	
2	,,	Newell.	
3	,,	Berlin.	
4	,,	Boston.	
5	,,	London.	
6	,,	Prowe Sale.	
7	,,	Berlin.	
8	Tetradrachm	Newell.	
9	,,	Naples.	
10	,,	Commerce.	
11	,,	Jameson.	
12	,,	Newell.	
13	,,	Paris.	
14	,,	Newell.	

PLATE XV

No.			
1	Tetradrachm	London.	
2	Hemidrachm	London.	
3	Tetradrachm	London.	
4	,,	Turin.	
5	,,	Newell.	
6	Hemidrachm	Turin.	
7	Tetradrachm	Newell.	
8	,,	Newell.	
9	,,	Paris.	
10	Tetradrachm	London.	
11	,,	Turin.	
12	,,	Athens.	
13	,,	Glasgow.	
14	,,	Athens.	
15	,,	Berlin.	
16	,,	Empedocles.	
17	,,	London.	

PLATE XVI

No.			
	1	Tetradrachm	Glasgow.
	2	„	Glasgow.
	3	„	London.
	4	„	Petsalis.
	5	„	Brussels.
	6	„	Newell.
	7	„	Newell.
	8	„	London.
No.	9	Drachm	London.
	10	Tetradrachm	Paris.
	11	„	Vienna.
	12	„	Cambridge.
	13	Stater	Brussels.
	14	Tetradrachm	Berlin.
	15	„	Boston.

PLATE XVII

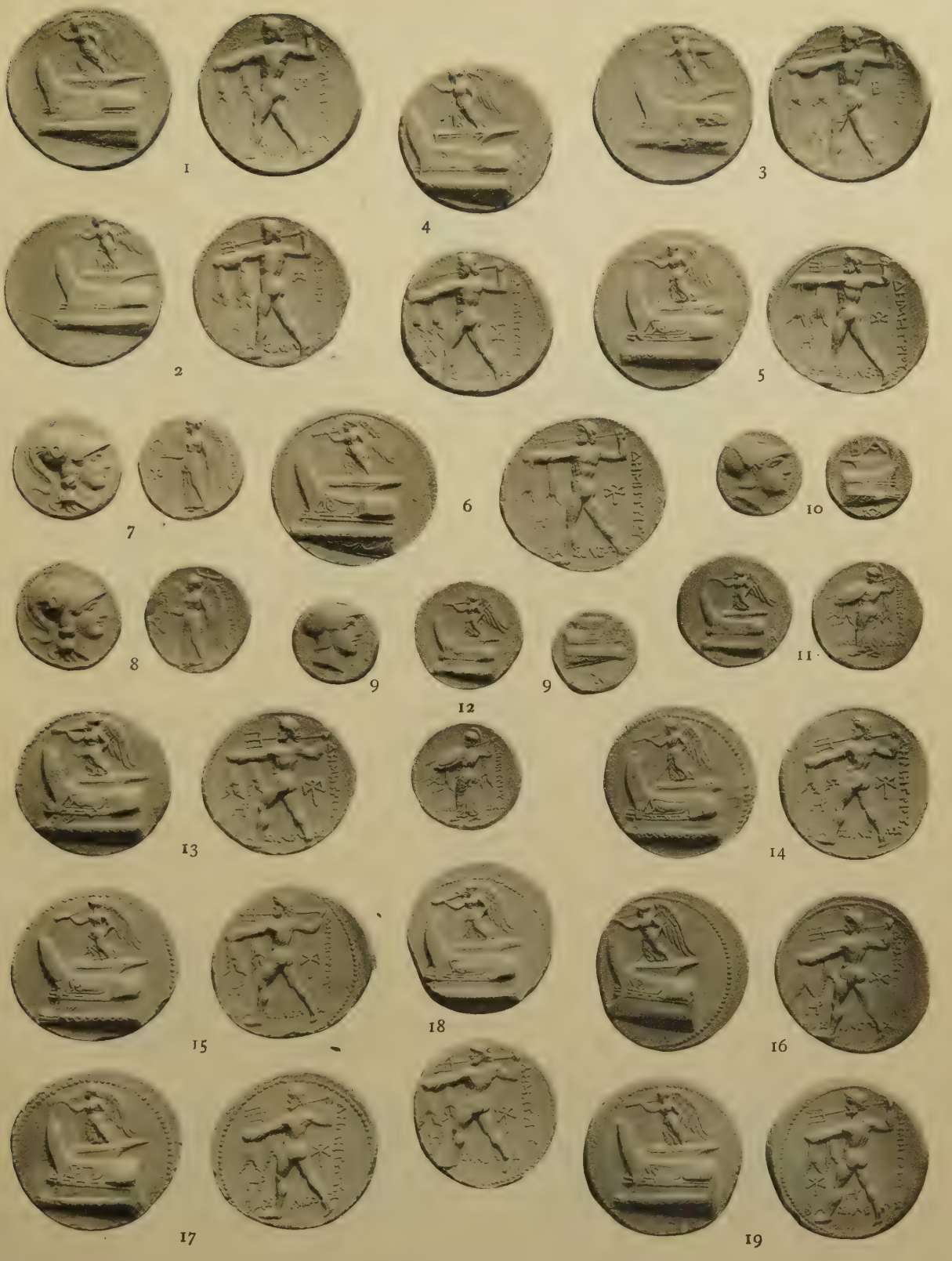
No.			
	1	Bronze	Newell.
	2	„	Newell.
	3	„	Newell.
	4	„	Berlin.
	5	„	Newell.
	6	„	Newell.
	7	„	Berlin.
	8	„	London.
	9	„	Oxford.
	10	„	Oxford.
	11	„	Cambridge.
	12	„	London.
	13	„	Newell.
	14	„	Braunschweig.
No.	15	Bronze	London.
	16	„	Munich.
	17	„	Berlin.
	18	„	Berlin.
	19	„	Berlin.
	20	„	London.
	21	„	Berlin.
	22	„	Berlin.
	23	Stater	Vienna.
	24	Tetradrachm	Reinach.
	25	„	Oxford.
	26	„	Newell.
	27	Bronze	Newell.

PLATE XVIII

No.			
	1	Tetradrachm	Oxford.
	2	„	Reinach.
	3	Stater	Newell.
	4	Seleucus I	Newell.
	5	Lysimachus	Newell.
	6	„	Newell.
	7	Philip III	Newell.
	8	Phaselis	Athens.
	9	Athens, imitation	London.
	10	Theba	Newell.
	11	Sinope	Newell.
	12	Cius	Newell.
No.	13	Megara	Newell.
	14	„	Newell.
	15	Stater (ancient?)	London.
	16	Forgery	Commerce.
	17	„	Commerce.
	18	„	Newell.
	19	Stater (ancient?)	Vienna.
	20	Forgery	Naples.
	21	„	Paris.
	22	„	Copenhagen.

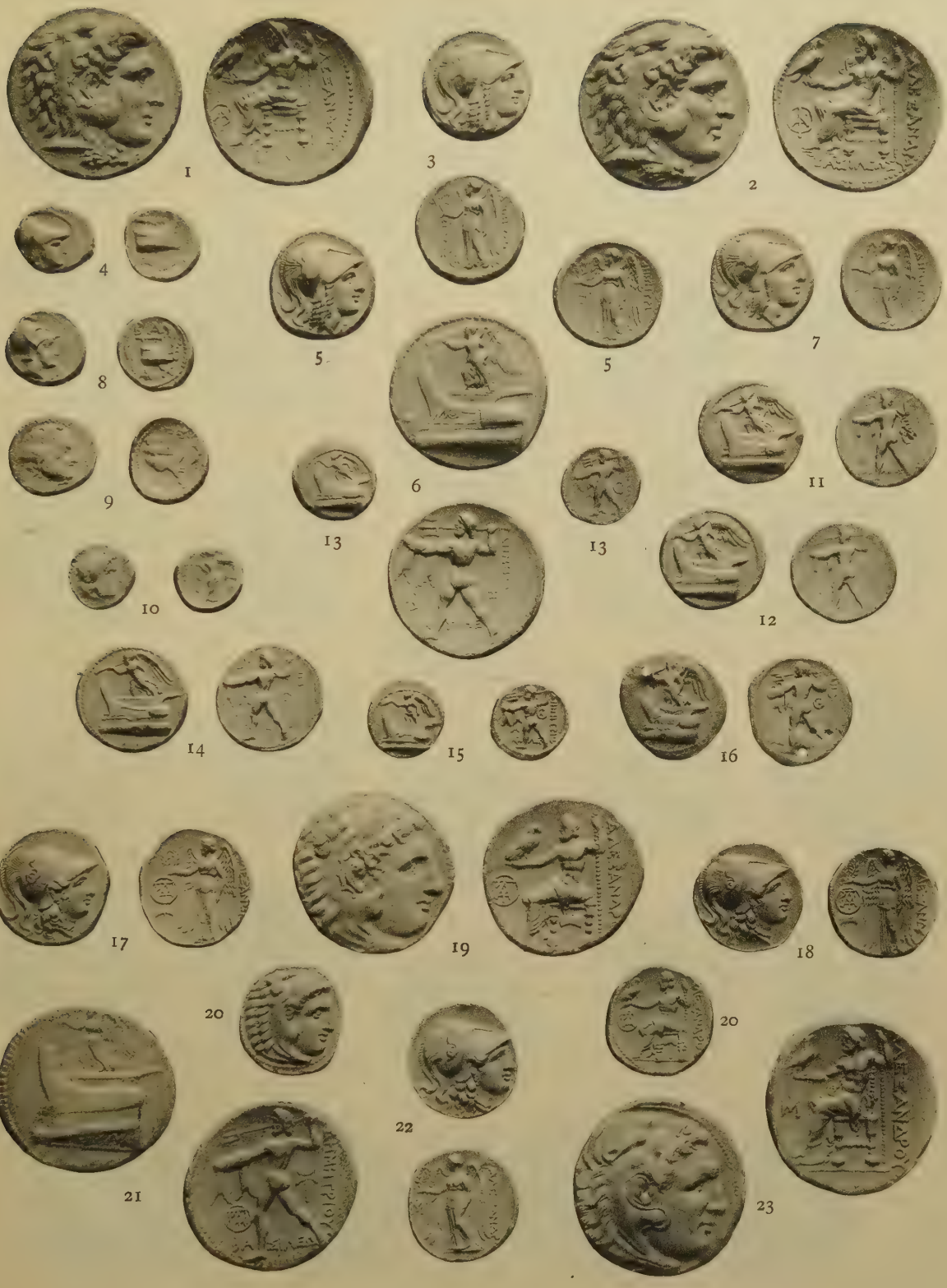
PLATES

Mint: Salamis



Mint: Salamis

Mints : Salamis (nos. 1–5) ; Tyre (nos. 6–14)



Mints: Tarsus (nos. 1–16); Miletus (nos. 17–23)

Mints: Miletus (nos. 1–3); Ephesus (nos. 4–15)

Mints: Ephesus (nos. 1–8); Uncertain Eastern (nos. 9–13); Pella (nos. 14–20)

Mint: Pella

Mints: Pella (nos. 1–13); Amphipolis (nos. 14–17)

Mint : Amphipolis

Mint : Amphipolis

Mint : Amphipolis

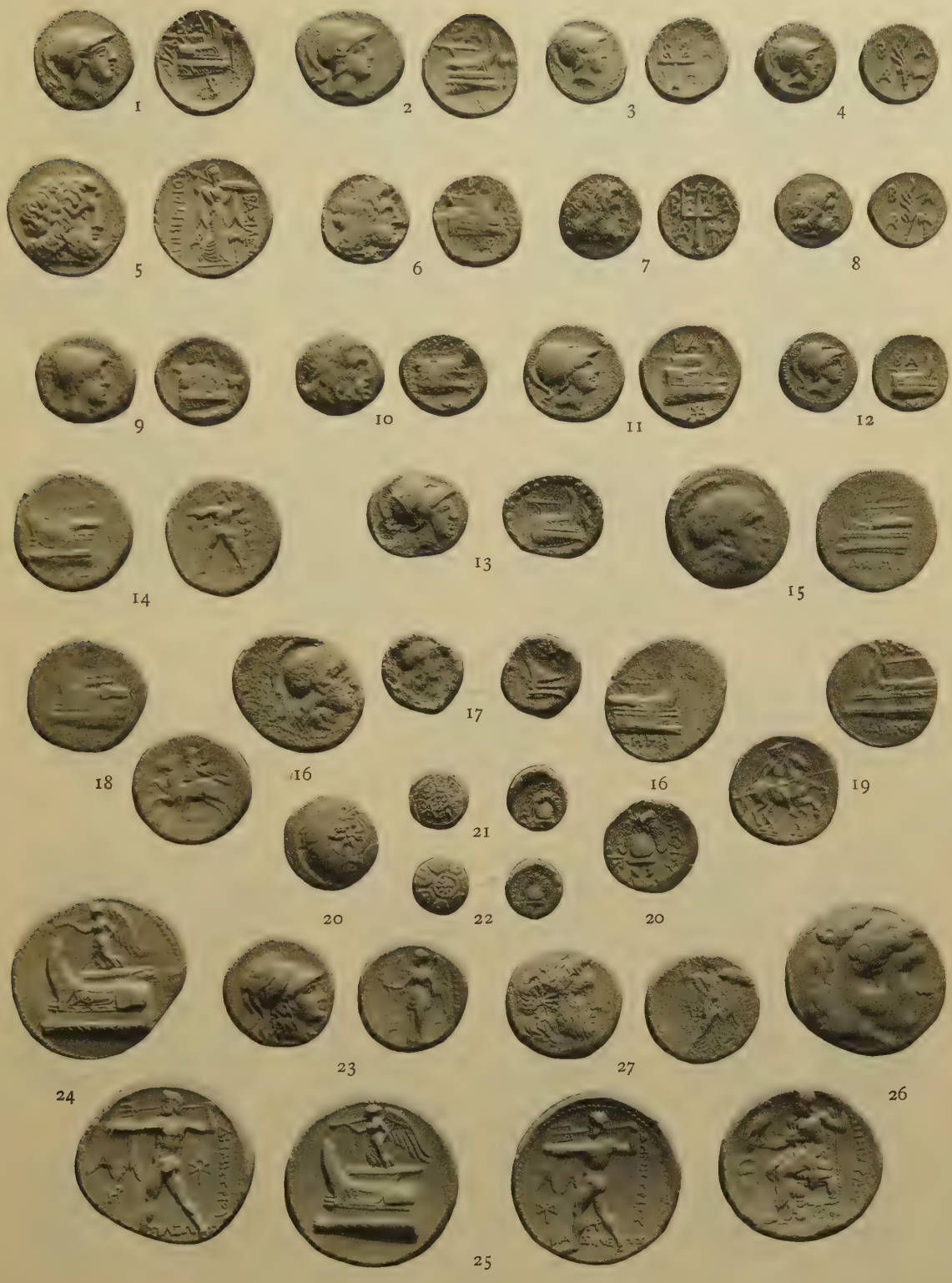
Mint : Amphipolis

Mint: Amphipolis

Mints: Uncertain Macedonian (nos. 1–8); Demetrias (nos. 9–14)

Mints: Thebes (nos. 1–7); Chalcis (nos. 8–17)

Mints: Chalcis (nos. 1–3); Uncertain (nos. 4–15)



Miscellaneous Bronze (nos. 1–22); Additions (nos. 23–27)

Additions (nos. 1–2); Miscellaneous (nos. 3–14); Ancient and Modern Imitations (nos. 15–22)

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